

# THE WILBOUR PAPYRUS

Edited by  
ALAN H. GARDINER

Volume II  
COMMENTARY

Published for  
THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM  
At The  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
1948

IN MEMORY OF  
THE AMERICAN EGYPTOLOGIST  
CHARLES EDWIN WILBOUR  
1833-1896

62132) 7Mw acc. 3-10100-9130-35636



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

AMEN HOUSE, LONDON E.C. 4

EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE  
WELLINGTON BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS CAPE TOWN

GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

Ms 493.01

W647

v. 2

✓

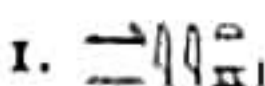
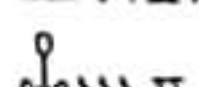
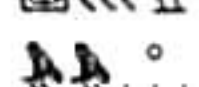
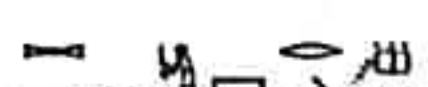
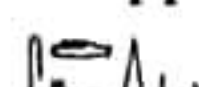
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD  
BY CHARLES BATEY  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

# CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION

1. The outstanding importance of the Wilbour papyrus	I
2. Acquisition, ownership, and publication	I
3. External features	4

## PART I. TEXT A

CHAPTER I. COMMENTARY ON TEXT A	9
1. The general plan	9
2. The four sections	9
3. The headings and sub-headings of the paragraphs	10
4. The places of measurement: A, general characters	25
5. The places of measurement: B, the localities themselves	36
6. Apportioning and non-apportioning paragraphs. <i>Pōsh</i> -headings and <i>pōsh</i> -entries	55
7. Metrology	59
(a) Measures of area	59
(b) Measures of capacity	60
8. The non-apportioning paragraphs: detailed account	65
(a) The words introducing the assessments	65
(b) The actual assessments	70
(c) The <i>pōsh</i> -entries of Type A	72
9. The apportioning paragraphs: detailed account	75
(a) The holders of land: generalities	75
(b) The occupations and social grades of the holders of land	79
(c) The names of the land-holders	84
(d) The donations to the god or gods of Pharaoh; <i>hōnk</i> -entries	86
(e) The <i>pōsh</i> -entries of Type B	87
(f) The <i>pōsh</i> -entries of Type C	90
(g) The assessments of the apportioning paragraphs	90
(h) The corresponding assessments of the <i>pōsh</i> -entries, Types A and B	99
(i) Retrospect and final comments upon the apportioning paragraphs	104
10. The Harem assessments	108
APPENDIX A: Special philological notes	110
1.  <i>rmnyt</i> 'domain'	110
2.  <i>hnk</i> 'donated land'	111
3.  <i>mimi</i> 'seed-corn of emmer (?)' and the phrase  <i>ts prt</i> 'appointment of seed', 'sowing-order'	113
4.  <i>sdf</i> 'foundation', 'endowment'	116
APPENDIX B: Correspondence of <i>pōsh</i> -entries	119
APPENDIX C: Table of numbers and corresponding $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	123

CHAPTER II. TEXT A: SYNOPSIS OF PARAGRAPH-HEADINGS	124
--	-----



## PART II. TEXT B

CHAPTER I. COMMENTARY ON TEXT B . . . . .	161
1. The general plan . . . . .	161
2. The administrators of <i>khato</i> -land . . . . .	161
3. The <i>khato</i> -lands of Pharaoh in Text A and elsewhere . . . . .	165
4. The institutions upon whose fields the <i>khato</i> -lands lay . . . . .	167
5. Comparison with the <i>khato</i> -land paragraphs of Text A . . . . .	169
6. The institutions upon whose fields the <i>khato</i> -lands lay (resumed from 4) . . . . .	172
7. The localities where the <i>khato</i> -lands of Text B were situated . . . . .	173
8. The different qualities and areas of <i>khato</i> -land . . . . .	178
9. The work of the first hand: conclusion . . . . .	181
10. The red additions and the purpose of Text B . . . . .	183
11. Further analysis of the red additions . . . . .	184
12. Details in connexion with the totals . . . . .	187
13. Conclusion . . . . .	189
CHAPTER II. TEXT B: SYNOPSIS OF PARAGRAPH-HEADINGS . . . . .	191

## EPILOGUE

RETROSPECT AND TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	197
1. Summary of Text A . . . . .	197
2. Taxes payable to the Crown or Temple Revenues? . . . . .	201
POSTSCRIPT . . . . .	205
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS: (1) TO THE PLATES OF TRANSCRIPTION . . . . .	211
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS: (2) TO THE COMMENTARY . . . . .	213

# TABLES AND MAPS

TABLE I. Temple Sites	15
TABLE II. Places of Measurement that are named more than once in Text A	<i>after</i> p. 36
MAP I. Position of Temple Sites	} <i>between</i> pp. 54 & 55
MAP II. The Region surveyed in Text A	
TABLE III. The Prophets of the Wilbour papyrus	<i>after</i> p. 196

# CONTENTS

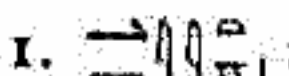
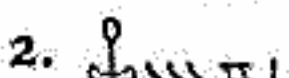



## INTRODUCTION

1. The outstanding importance of the Wilbour papyrus	I
2. Acquisition, ownership, and publication	I
3. External features	4

## PART I. TEXT A

CHAPTER I. COMMENTARY ON TEXT A	9
1. The general plan	9
2. The four sections	9
3. The headings and sub-headings of the paragraphs	10
4. The places of measurement: A, general characters	25
5. The places of measurement: B, the localities themselves	36
6. Apportioning and non-apportioning paragraphs. <i>Pōsh</i> -headings and <i>pōsh</i> -entries	55
7. Metrology	59
(a) Measures of area	59
(b) Measures of capacity	60
8. The non-apportioning paragraphs: detailed account	65
(a) The words introducing the assessments	65
(b) The actual assessments	70
(c) The <i>pōsh</i> -entries of Type A	72
9. The apportioning paragraphs: detailed account	75
(a) The holders of land: generalities	75
(b) The occupations and social grades of the holders of land	79
(c) The names of the land-holders	84
(d) The donations to the god or gods of Pharaoh; <i>hōnk</i> -entries	86
(e) The <i>pōsh</i> -entries of Type B	87
(f) The <i>pōsh</i> -entries of Type C	90
(g) The assessments of the apportioning paragraphs	90
(h) The corresponding assessments of the <i>pōsh</i> -entries, Types A and B	99
(i) Retrospect and final comments upon the apportioning paragraphs	104
10. The Harem assessments	108

APPENDIX A: Special philological notes	110
--	-----

1.  <i>rmnyt</i> 'domain'	110
2.  <i>hnk</i> 'donated land'	111
3.  <i>mimi</i> 'seed-corn of emmer (?)' and the phrase  <i>ts prt</i> 'appointment of seed', 'sowing-order'	113
4.  <i>sdf</i> 'foundation', 'endowment'	116

APPENDIX B: Correspondence of <i>pōsh</i> -entries	119
--	-----

APPENDIX C: Table of numbers and corresponding $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	123
---	-----

CHAPTER II. TEXT A: SYNOPSIS OF PARAGRAPH-HEADINGS	124
--	-----



## PART II. TEXT B

CHAPTER I. COMMENTARY ON TEXT B . . . . .	161
1. The general plan . . . . .	161
2. The administrators of <i>khato</i> -land . . . . .	161
3. The <i>khato</i> -lands of Pharaoh in Text A and elsewhere . . . . .	165
4. The institutions upon whose fields the <i>khato</i> -lands lay . . . . .	167
5. Comparison with the <i>khato</i> -land paragraphs of Text A . . . . .	169
6. The institutions upon whose fields the <i>khato</i> -lands lay (resumed from 4) . . . . .	172
7. The localities where the <i>khato</i> -lands of Text B were situated . . . . .	173
8. The different qualities and areas of <i>khato</i> -land . . . . .	178
9. The work of the first hand: conclusion . . . . .	181
10. The red additions and the purpose of Text B . . . . .	183
11. Further analysis of the red additions . . . . .	184
12. Details in connexion with the totals . . . . .	187
13. Conclusion . . . . .	189

CHAPTER II. TEXT B: SYNOPSIS OF PARAGRAPH-HEADINGS . . . . .	191
--	-----

## EPILOGUE

RETROSPECT AND TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	197
1. Summary of Text A . . . . .	197
2. Taxes payable to the Crown or Temple Revenues? . . . . .	201
POSTSCRIPT . . . . .	205
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS: (1) TO THE PLATES OF TRAN- SCRIPTION . . . . .	211
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS: (2) TO THE COMMENTARY . . . . .	213



## INTRODUCTION

### 1. The outstanding importance of the Wilbour Papyrus

THE great hieratic document here published for the first time has many claims to be ranked among the most important of non-religious papyri of Pharaonic date. In actual size—the length is a little over 10 metres—it is indeed far surpassed by the great Harris papyrus in the British Museum (nearly 45 m.) and by the Ebers medical papyrus in the Leipzig collection (20 m.); but in the bulk of the matter it contains it has surely no equal. The lines of the longer of the two component texts, reproduced in Plates 1 to 49 with 73 (A) of this work, number no less than 4,500, distributed over 102 columns. It is true that these lines are short, besides being wearisomely uniform in character, as those who have had to copy and translate them know all too well, but the mass of information given is enormous. The second text, added later on the *verso* (Pls. 1, bottom, and 50–72), consists of 25 pages—they are too wide to be termed columns—and these comprise 723 lines, if anything even more monotonous in their tenor. It might possibly seem that by stressing the uniformity and monotony of the contents I am cutting away the ground beneath the assertion with which this Introduction opened. The answer is that a unique record of holdings in land, comparable in some degree with our Domesday Book, could in the nature of the case hardly be light reading, but loses none of its importance on that account. Here for the first time we have a vast document dealing with the measurement and assessment of fields, one of the major operations of the Egyptian administration, and it is precisely from such documents that were compiled the final land registers on which the main finances of the country depended. Records of this kind must have been made yearly, and the well-known inscription of Mes suggests that they were kept for a number of years so as to be able to bear witness to ownership. Yet of all such cadastral surveys which, in the course of centuries, must have been made by Egyptian officials, this Late-Ramesside papyrus is the only draft of considerable size that has survived, and its interest is enhanced by the fact that it deals with Middle Egypt, not with Thebes like the majority of administrative texts that have come down to us.

In a dozen different directions the Wilbour papyrus sheds new light upon Egyptian civilization. Of personal names there are many hundreds, a large proportion of them hitherto unknown; and since these are roughly localized, later study will here find material for discussing the influence of local cults upon such nomenclature. For geographical questions the bulk of fresh evidence is immense, and though a serious attempt has been made in this volume to deal with it in a roughly adequate fashion, many problems remain over for future investigation. We learn the names of many new temples, the sources whence fodder was provided for the cattle owned by these, the officials concerned in the cultivation of the land and the collection of its produce, the occupations of the land-holding classes, and the frequency of foreign settlers on the soil. Further testimony for metrology is also vouchsafed us, but this as usual, alas, furnishes more questions than answers. The main interest of the document, however, lies in the incontestable proof it brings of the closely interwoven obligations of temples, Crown, and small-holders, and of the control exercised over all these by one supreme fiscal authority. Lastly, the texts have an attraction which belongs more to the mechanism of Egyptology than to its results, namely a superabundance of difficult problems of transcription and interpretation.

### 2. Acquisition, ownership, and publication

The first occasion upon which our papyrus came to the notice of Egyptologists was about the year 1928 or 1929, when it was brought to the Cairo Museum by the Luxor dealer from whom it was subsequently purchased. To all appearance it was one of three separate rolls. Only the tattered portions of the outer layers were visible, and the very cursively written names and figures they disclosed appeared



unpromising to Professor Gunn, then one of the Keepers of the Cairo Museum. The price demanded was exorbitant. Some months later the dealer, desiring another opinion, showed the documents to me at the Continental Hotel. I, too, hazarded the conjecture, based on the few lines I could see, that two of the three rolls were likely to be of little interest, probably containing mere accounts. At the same time I told him that the third roll, upon which, if I remember rightly, I recognized the name of the High-priest of Amūn Ra'messenakhte, might very well be of considerable value, since it appeared to contain consecutive texts, possibly of narrative or judicial character; unhappily this roll was very fragile, and though of some thickness, was likely to prove more damaged than its less attractive companions. It was in order not to lose track of the last-named roll that, more than once in the following years, I caused inquiries to be made by friends visiting Thebes. At last information came to hand that M. Capart, of the Brussels Museum, had an option on two of the three papyri; in the sequel it turned out that these were the two which Gunn and I had believed to be accounts, and concerning the third more desirable document I have never since been able to obtain information, the dealer denying that he ever possessed it. M. Capart showed the papyri at the Cairo Museum, and there obtained permission to take them to Europe for study, on the condition that Cairo should have the right to acquire them later at the price originally paid, if such a course were decided upon. When a letter written by me to M. Capart, strongly urging him to put the unrolling into Dr. Ibscher's hands, ultimately reached him, some steps towards opening the manuscript had already been taken at Brussels. Photographs of the rather unsatisfactory results were then sent to the Cairo Museum, where Dr. Černý in his turn was consulted for a verdict. His judgement coincided with that given by Gunn and myself; there was nothing visible that could lead us to suppose that the contents would prove of superlative interest. Thereupon Cairo renounced its option to purchase, and M. Capart was free to make other arrangements. It has required months of patient labour on the part of Dr. Ibscher, carried on partly at my London house and partly in Berlin, to restore to the papyrus its present magnificent appearance; it has further required years of persevering study on my own part, in similarly favourable conditions, to recognize the document for what it is and thus to turn it into value; and for these purposes the authorities of the Brooklyn Museum have most generously supplied the funds out of the resources bequeathed by the family of the distinguished Egyptologist after whom the papyrus is named. It needed a high degree of faith to invest so large a sum of money in the acquisition of this papyrus, and in its unrolling, mounting, and publication, and other Egyptologists will be as grateful as I am that the Trustees decided to sponsor the undertaking.

This is a suitable point at which to express my acknowledgements, but before doing so my readers must be apprised of a fact about which I may unintentionally have mystified them; the two rolls purchased by M. Capart turned out to be respectively the top and bottom halves of one and the same papyrus. To M. Capart my gratitude is due in the first instance. It is he who recognized the desirability of rescuing the papyrus from oblivion and of finding for it a safe and suitable resting-place. To the Trustees of the Brooklyn Museum I am equally indebted. Mr. Youtz was Director at the time when this publication was first mooted, and he strongly advocated it and obtained from his Trustees the very generous contribution required for its accomplishment. Mr. Laurance Roberts, Mr. Youtz's successor, has been no less helpful, and without hesitation undertook to counsel the Trustees to add a further amount for the making of the Plates of transcription. Mr. John D. Cooney, the present Curator of the Egyptian Department, has given incessant aid and encouragement, doubly welcome at a time when research has been far from easy.

The scientific study of the papyrus has involved much co-operation. In the first place a warm tribute must be paid to the late Dr. Hugo Ibscher, the deeply regretted friend and constant helper without whose aid a very considerable part of my life-work would have been impossible. To those inclined to belittle the craftsmanship required for the preservation of papyri I would submit the considerations that scientific investigation would be sadly at a loss but for the existence of the material upon which it is based, and that to achieve such results as Dr. Ibscher again and again achieved is a feat which accords him a prominent place in the ranks of scientific men. In the Wilbour papyrus he had no easy



task; the fabric is extremely brittle, crumbling at the least touch. Often the pages stuck together and were difficult to separate. It is necessary only to scan the Plates to realize what abundance of skill has been devoted to the unrolling and mounting. The manual labour of transcribing such a plethora of texts was a task which no one could contemplate without sinking of heart. Fortunately I had to hand an able and devoted henchman to whom much of that work could be entrusted. My procedure was first to study and myself to write out several columns of the *recto* and pages of the *verso*; in the course of this initial step many of the most puzzling of the recurrent groups were successfully deciphered. Mr. R. O. Faulkner then proceeded with the transcription of the rest and performed his part with remarkable accuracy and success. It has, however, naturally been necessary to collate and re-collate Faulkner's copies many times over, in the course of which many new readings have been obtained. Dr. Černý was kind enough to collate the whole of Text A, the best of his finds being the tiny ligature for  $\frac{4}{25}$  'aroura' and the sign  $\text{Ⲁ}$  for 'dry' land. Complete indexes were next made to ensure that the names and titles should be rendered consistently throughout the projected translation. This constituted the last stage in the editorial side of the entire undertaking. The manual task of Englishing so many lines was a long one, and owes its fulfilment to the industry and skill of Faulkner, whose basis consisted of the present Commentary and of the aforementioned indexes.

Meanwhile the Chiswick Press had been making preparations for the photographic Plates published in the folio volume, and this required not only all the skill in making collotypes of which that firm are past-masters, but also very careful planning on the part of Mr. Butfield, its manager. It was found that as a rule a single Plate could carry the transcription of no more than two columns of Text A, and as the original had been mounted in sets of three or even four columns, the collotypes corresponding to the Plates of transcription frequently involved the joining together of more than one photograph. The difficulty of making these joins was enhanced by the fact that in many cases the original had stretched unequally. How ably Mr. Butfield and his assistants have coped with this problem may be seen from the collotypes themselves, where the points of junction are rarely visible. On the whole these collotypes are remarkably successful; if on the *verso* the red writing has often proved beyond the powers of the camera, this is little to be wondered at, since much of it is barely visible to the human eye. As regards the Plates of transcription, a very able collaborator was found in Mrs. Smither, who had been trained in the writing of hieroglyphs by Professor Gunn. The accuracy and neatness with which Mrs. Smither has written the autographed texts and notes are most remarkable, even when it is added that her husband Mr. P. C. Smither, the gifted young scholar whose recent death we deeply mourn, was good enough to check her results throughout.

Of the two Text volumes which will, it is hoped, appear in rapid succession, if not together, I must be pardoned if I attach greater importance to the Commentary than to the Translation. It must be clearly understood that with such a document the English rendering cannot but be strongly coloured by the editor's conceptions, so that only to a limited extent must it be regarded as an independent witness by which those conceptions may be tested. In other words, everything turns upon the arguments adduced in the Commentary. Much of the phraseology of the original text is ambiguous and cannot be made intelligible without reasoned interpretation; a purely literal and servile rendering would either be incomprehensible or else suggest conclusions that are certainly wrong. Enough was said in my opening pages to show what a vast mass of interesting detail is to be gleaned from even a superficial study of the papyrus. Its fundamental problems, however, are much more elusive. Again and again during the preparation of this volume I have realized my incompetence to deal with the fiscal problems here in the foreground, and I am keenly alive to the tentative nature of the suggestions put forward as my final results. In my difficulties I naturally turned to the papyrologists, to whom the economic matters here in question are familiar ground, vast material being available from both Ptolemaic and Roman times. My appeal for help has been answered in the most generous way. I have before me long replies to a preliminary essay, which I caused to be typed and distributed, from Professor Heichelheim at Cambridge and from Professor A. C. Johnson of Princeton University, as well as from my Egyptological colleague Dr. J. Černý. At Oxford I have had the advantage of talks with my friends



Dr. J. G. Milne and Professor Last, and in the latter case Mr. A. H. M. Jones, of All Souls, very helpfully participated. Other papyrologists who have favoured me with their counsel are Sir Harold Bell, Mademoiselle Préaux, and Mr. J. C. Skeat. If I have not benefited as much as I had hoped from the discussions with these scholars, all of them first-rate authorities in their own lines, it is partly because, as they would all agree, Pharaonic conditions were evidently very different from those of the later period, and partly because it is only gradually that I have arrived at the facts I should have liked to put before them. Without personal familiarity with the whole text, without even a provisional translation to help them, above all without knowledge of the collateral material at Turin, Amiens, and elsewhere<sup>1</sup> with which I myself have only comparatively recently obtained an intimate acquaintance, my papyrological counsellors have been handicapped in a manner that made it wellnigh impossible for them to lighten my darkness on the main issues.

With all its defects<sup>2</sup> here is my Commentary, the outcome of several years' continuous study, the closing stages rendered difficult by the outbreak of the War, which for a time deprived me of access to the necessary reference books. If the achievement of the task has cost me much labour, it has also brought me much happiness, or at least much alleviation. The ready assistance I have received on every hand, from Faulkner who typed the whole, from Miss Broome who drew the maps, from my old friend and helper Battiscombe Gunn, as well as from my indefatigable friend the Printer to the University of Oxford, has had a greater power of encouragement than ever before; and the kindness with which that assistance has been bestowed leaves me wondering that the co-operation so easy in our tiny microcosm of scholarship should have proved so difficult in the great world without.

### 3. External features

The papyrus itself is thin and of fine quality. Exact measurement is rendered difficult by the lacunae at the beginning, but assuming the first leaf to have been of the same breadth as the rest, the total length will have been about 10.33 metres. This length is made up of forty-three leaves, complete and incomplete, each 42 cm. in height and over 26 cm. in breadth. The first join occurs 13 cm. from the present right-hand edge, and we may conjecture that only one fold has entirely disappeared. The subsequent joins, very neatly executed, as befitted an official document of high importance, follow one another at regular intervals of from 23 to 25 cm., the right-hand leaf always overlying its neighbour on the left. To this statement concerning the distance between the joins there are some exceptions, but consideration of these is best postponed for the moment.

The main text, here whenever necessary styled Text A, occupies the whole of the *recto*, i.e. the side on which the horizontal fibres are uppermost, as well as nearly one-third of the *verso*. It seems certain that the first column of which fragments are still extant was also the first when the manuscript was complete, for a free space of 5 cm. is still seen before that column, whereas the distances between the other columns near the beginning are exceedingly small. This inference is confirmed by Text B, if I am justified in my supposition (below, p. 6) that we possess part of the very first line of that text. The *recto* provides room for 81 columns in all, the last of them (Pl. 39) running up to within 6 cm. of the inner margin. The continuation (Pls. 40-9) doubles back upon the *verso* in the direction of the beginning, and may have concluded in col. 102 or 103. After col. 101, however, all has been washed out, and only a few signs are still legible; these are transcribed in Pl. 73 (A). It is clear from the contents that at the bottom of col. 101 we are not far from the end of the text, or at all events from the end of a complete section of it. In Text A the number of lines to the column varies slightly, partly through variation in the size of the writing, but partly because of the spaces left between the paragraphs. Columns 52 and 77 possess as many as 56 lines apiece, but this is exceptional; otherwise the highest

<sup>1</sup> This material has now been translated and discussed in my article *Ramesseide Texts relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn* in *JEA*, xxvii, 19 ff. An important additional document is dealt with below in the Postscript to this volume. Nearly all these illustrative texts will be published in transcription in my work entitled *Ramesseide Administrative Texts*.

<sup>2</sup> The circumstances of the times must be my excuse for any errors there may be in my references and for other inconsistencies. In correcting the proofs I have had to proceed somewhat mechanically, for it would have been too time-robbing to have steeped myself once again in the details of a very complex undertaking.



number is 53 (col. 70), and in all there are only 19 cols. with 50 lines and over. The average is between 44 and 45, and less than 10 complete columns have under 30 lines.

The greater part of Text A is the work of a single highly competent scribe, who wrote the conventional formulas of his office exceedingly cursorily, but took care that such vital details as figures,<sup>1</sup> place-names, and personal names should be both accurate and legible. Our main difficulty in decipherment has, indeed, lain in the constantly recurring expressions and titles which could have caused no embarrassment to the scribe's official colleagues. Not until l. 20 of col. 68 do we note the intervention of another hand, this still more cursive and abbreviated than that of the principal writer. Perhaps the first scribe was ill or off duty, since in 69, 1 he resumes his work and continues down to 72, 30. In 72, 31 the second hand reasserts itself, but in 75, 1 the less slapdash amanuensis takes up his task afresh, and goes on steadily until within two lines of the bottom of col. 95. Then the second scribe finishes off the existing text. Both scribes use red ink for headings and sub-headings of paragraphs as well as for the more important numerals.

To return to the question of the joins. Three of these, namely those after cols. 14, 43, and 64 respectively, are extremely clumsy and lacking in the efficient workmanship seen elsewhere. The natural deduction is that these joins were made, not by the original makers of the papyrus, but in the office of the scribes, who subsequently joined different lengths together to form a single roll greater than was normally supplied by the trade. I shall refer to such clumsy joins as 'office joins'. That the explanation of them is as stated is indicated by the fact that the distances to the preceding join in the three cases are 13, 17, and 16 cm. respectively, instead of the normal 23 to 25 cm. It seems likely that when the scribe was approaching the end of his roll and felt anxious lest what remained might not suffice for another column, he cut off just enough to ensure there would be no undue space between the last column of this roll and the first column of the next.<sup>2</sup> He then gummed his two rolls together as best he might before starting to write upon the new one. In the second of the three office joins another motive may have played a part, since a new section (see p. 9 below) begins at the top of col. 44, and the scribe may have wished to use a fresh roll for this. Consequently we have less reason to suppose that the join after col. 43 occurred in the last leaf of a roll than we have in the other two cases, where no new section begins in the column following.

An alternative hypothesis to account for the office joins might be that our present papyrus formerly consisted of several separate rolls, which were gummed together only after the whole of Text A was complete. The presence of the word 'fifth' at the top of col. 44 and of the word 'seventh' at the top of col. 65 might seem to lend colour to this hypothesis, since it is natural to explain these ordinal numbers as referring to some classification of the many papyri that must have existed in the office in question.<sup>3</sup> A lacuna at the top of col. 15 prevents us from knowing whether the roll that begins here was numbered 'fourth'; the only roll-numberings now surviving in the Wilbour papyrus are the above-mentioned 'fifth' and 'seventh', and the absence of the 'sixth' is a mystery. Two objections stand in the way of the alternative hypothesis above suggested, the first of them conclusively proving that by the time Text A was completed the 'seventh' roll was already joined to its present predecessor. This first objection is the fact that col. 97 on the *verso* runs right over the office join between cols. 64 and 65 on the *recto*, as may be seen by comparing Pl. 47 with Pl. 30. The second objection lies in the consideration that if Text A originally consisted of several separate rolls one would have expected the ends of the sections unfinished in cols. 14 and 64 to have been continued on the *verso* just behind those columns, in the same way that at the inner end of our papyrus col. 81 is continued on the *verso* by col. 82. From this it must be concluded that the scribe charged with the task of compiling Text A

<sup>1</sup> There is some ambiguity only between the numerals for 1 and 5, both having a horizontal stroke at the top which may be made too long in the 1 and too short in the 5.

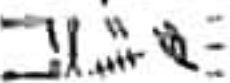
<sup>2</sup> It will, however, be seen from the Plates that in each of these cases the interval is rather more than the normal. The scribe was evidently aware that his own joins were hardly good enough to be written over.

<sup>3</sup> The only case known to me of whole papyri being numbered is in two magical rolls in the Louvre of Saite or Ptolemaic date published by Chassinat, *Rec. trav.*, xiv, 10 ff. Cardinals are used for numbering pages in the Ebers papyrus, and ordinals serve the same purpose in (e.g.) the Cairo papyrus containing the demotic story of Setna.



projected its completion on a single roll from the start, and when he reached the end of one roll as received from the makers, himself gummed on a fresh one. In other words I return to my original hypothesis, leaving the two roll-numberings unexplained.

The four rolls out of which the Wilbour papyrus has been put together now consist respectively of 6, 15, 12, and 10 leaves or parts of leaves, and it is possible they were delivered to the office by the makers in these dissimilar sizes. Negatively, we may say that the Wilbour papyrus affords no evidence for the theory that papyrus rolls were marketed in standard sizes,<sup>1</sup> though the height of leaf here employed appears to have been a very usual one.<sup>2</sup>

To turn now to Text B. This lies wholly upon the *verso* and in all probability we still possess, on the back of col. 1 of the *recto*, a tiny trace of its first, and several words of its second line. The twenty-five rather broad pages run right over the rough office joins between cols. 14-15 and 43-4 of Text A, and it is consequently evident that the papyrus had acquired its present very considerable length when Text B, which is obviously a later addition, was inscribed upon it. The severe losses which Text B, like Text A, has sustained at the beginning are due to that part of the roll having lain on the outside when the papyrus was left to slumber on through the centuries in some place unknown—we have no clue to the provenance. Text B runs up to within 27 cm. of col. 101 of Text A, which, as already explained, doubles back upon the *verso* in the direction of the beginning. The now blank space between the ends of the two texts is occupied by the none too well erased traces of one or more columns of A, but before the final page of B is reached, we find slight traces of a third and possibly quite short text C, written the same way up as A and subsequently erased in its entirety. Traces of C are visible in Pl. 72 beneath and beyond page 25 of B. One or two words are still legible, among them the word  'flax'.

Text B is an extensive list of Royal lands arranged under headings that name the officials responsible for their administration. These headings and the following line begin with words written in red. Red is also employed for a number of figures and additional official memoranda written in an appallingly cursive and clumsy hand different from that of the main text. The latter is the work of a tolerably legible and efficient hand, the writing being a good deal larger than that of Text A. An average of 30 lines goes to the page. Leaving out of account the damaged pages at the beginning, the pages with the largest number of lines are pp. 23 and 24, which have 36 lines apiece. Page 25 has only 24 lines on account of the spaces between the paragraphs, these growing shorter and shorter towards the end. It is probable that with the bottom of this page Text B is complete.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that in Ramesside times, as in the time of Pliny, the standard roll consisted of 20 sheets or leaves; see the entry in the Medinet Habu Calendar (Pl. 150, l. 548) quoted by Nelson, *Work in Western Thebes 1931-33* (*Or. Inst. Commun.*, No. 18), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> See Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, p. 5, who states that the height varies between 37 and 42 cm., and the breadth

between 40 and 48 cm. It is difficult to bring the breadth of the leaves of the Wilbour (25-6 cm.) into relationship with these figures. In both height and breadth of leaf the Wilbour agrees closely with the Will of Naunakhte of the same reign in my possession; see Černý's edition in *JEA*, xxxi, a footnote to which shows that 42-4 cm. was the usual height of the tallest non-literary papyri, literary and religious ones being of lesser height.

# PART I

## TEXT A

See Plates 1, top; 2-49; 73 (A)



# CHAPTER I

## COMMENTARY ON TEXT A

### 1. The general plan

TEXT A records the measurement and assessment of a large number of fields in Middle Egypt. The survey started somewhere to the north of Crocodilopolis (Medīnet el-Fayyūm) and may have ended near Tihna, only a little short of the important modern town of El-Minyah. Thus the distance covered may have been between 85 and 95 miles, or upwards of 140 kilometres. The results obtained by the assessors are set forth in stereotyped form. Rubricized single lines beginning with 'Measurement (made) at . . .' or 'Measurement (made) to the north (south, etc.) of . . .' are followed by other lines each giving details about some individual plot in the locality in question; these details sometimes include name and occupation of the holder of the plot, and always state its size together with its assessment (if any) in terms of corn. The main interruptions in this uniform scheme are provided by the headings of sections and paragraphs and by occasional single lines devoted to what I shall call *pōsh*-entries. (10000)

Though the field-work of the surveyors must necessarily have proceeded in topographical sequence, its results are arranged otherwise in the papyrus, being subsumed under the heads of a large number of land-owning institutions, mainly temples, but also others, including the Crown. Thus every field is recorded in connexion with its ground-landlord, and Text A resembles a ledger more than a normal cadastral survey. The land-owning institutions, indicated in headings that occupy one, two, or three lines apiece, have caused the entire text to be divided up into about 280 paragraphs, of which a Synopsis is given below (pp. 124-57). This does not mean, however, that as many as 280 land-owning institutions are mentioned. For two reasons the number is far smaller. In the first place the administration of the land belonging to the larger temples proves to have been entrusted to a number of different officials, each responsible for a particular 'administrative domain' (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *rmmyt*).<sup>1</sup> To each of these 'domains' a separate paragraph is assigned. See, for example, the Synopsis under §§ 64-8, where five consecutive paragraphs are devoted to the great temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu. But, in the second place, Text A possesses also a wider basis of classification, falling into four sections, under each of which the same land-owning institution may in theory occur. In point of fact the temple of Medīnet Habu is found, not only in §§ 64-8 of Section II, but also in §§ 127-38 of Section III and further in §§ 220-30 of Section IV. To explain this, we must for the moment leave discussion of the paragraphs and turn our attention to the division into sections.

### 2. The four sections

The beginning of Section I is lost, and it is clear for reasons to be given hereafter<sup>2</sup> that a good half of it can never have stood in the Wilbour papyrus, but must have been contained in another roll. Each of the remaining three sections begins with a date and an identical formula.<sup>3</sup> It will suffice to quote the heading of Section II:

'Year 4, [second month of the Inundation season], day 15 to day 20, making six days, assessment made by—.'

Section III comprises the assessments made from day 21 to day 28 of the same month, and Section IV those from its 29th day to the first day of the third month. We may conclude, therefore, that the Wilbour papyrus, together with the papyrus that gave the first half of Section I, will have recorded, in four distinct blocks, the results of measurements and assessments completed in a consecutive period of about twenty-three days. It now becomes evident that the reason why one and the same temple is found in several different sections is that the compiler took separately all the returns of each brief span

<sup>1</sup> For this word see further below, p. 19, and also Appendix A, 1, below, pp. 110-11.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Section II, see 21, 16; Section III, see 44, 1; Section IV, see 75, 1. Translations of these section-headings will be found in the Synopsis before §§ 51, 117, and 208 respectively.



of assessment days and classified these returns ledgerwise under the heads of the land-owning institutions without waiting for the assessments of the whole period of days to be received.

Some glosses are required to explain the section-heading translated above. The reign is that of Ramesses V, *circa* 1150 B.C. This is proved by certain examples of double-entry book-keeping in which a temple called in the one place 'the Mansion of Millions of Years of Ra'messe-Amenhikhopshemiamūn' corresponds to 'the Mansion of Pharaoh' in the other.<sup>1</sup> In texts of Ramesside times, no less than later ones, the term 'Pharaoh' regularly refers to the living king,<sup>2</sup> and this, accordingly, fixes the reign. As regards the month named, non-Egyptological readers need to be reminded that the seasons of the civil year, owing to the error of reckoning the year as of 365 days instead of 365¼, in course of time occurred far outside their proper place, so that the second month of the Inundation season by no means necessarily coincided with the second month after the beginning of the rise of the Nile. Dr. Černý has kindly calculated for me, using the familiar chronological data, that if the fourth year of Ramesses V, following Breasted, fell in 1158 B.C., the fifteenth day of the second month of the Inundation season will have been the 23rd of July, i.e. just before the rise of the water began to make itself felt. It seems difficult to conceive of a less suitable time for a land-survey, and the pictures of land-measurement in the Theban tombs show this being carried out at the moment when the crops were ripe,<sup>3</sup> which would have been in April or at latest in the early days of May. An interesting Twelfth Dynasty record of field-measurement recently published by P. C. Smither refers to a date somewhere about the 19th of January, which, while disagreeing with the Theban pictures, indicates a season not unsuitable for the operation.<sup>4</sup> In matters of astronomical chronology I must confess myself incompetent to offer any serious opinion, but I must ask students to consider the difficulty which the Wilbour papyrus here raises; some entries will be quoted later (p. 70) which seem to indicate that the survey cannot, at the very earliest, have taken place until the Inundation had subsided and its results had been ascertained. One way out of the difficulty is, of course, to suppose that though the assessments were made in July, the measurements that served as their basis were made some months earlier. How far this can be reconciled with the division of our text into four sections is, however, a question that must be left to others.

It will be noted that the names of the officials who made the assessment ( $\overline{\text{st}}$ )<sup>5</sup> are not written out, but are represented by the sign which was used by the Egyptians of the New Kingdom to convey the signification 'ditto'. Probably the habit of the office to which the scribe belonged was to omit the tedious repetition of the titles and names of the officials concerned, but we are the sufferers by this bureaucratic omission. It can, however, barely be doubted that the assessing staff were headed by the 'Chief Taxing-master' ( $\text{st}$   $\overline{\text{st}}$   $\overline{\text{st}}$ ), who is referred to several times in the papyrus without mention of his name.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately the implications of the verb *st* 'to assess' are not well enough established to be of much help for the interpretation of the present document.

### 3. The headings and sub-headings of the paragraphs

We must now resume our discussion of the paragraphs, and the task here is to review in a broad perspective the headings translated and discussed in detail in the Synopsis below, pp. 124-57. Thence it will be seen that each of the three complete sections begins with the great temple of Amen-Rē at Karnak (§§ 51. 117. 208), in close connexion with which are mentioned also the famous addition made

<sup>1</sup> See in § 58 (25, 21) the corresponding entries 25, 26 = 38, 38; 26, 4-5 = 34, 20; in § 214 (76, 27) see 76, 34 = 83, 22; 76, 37 = 85, 42-3. These are only four correspondences out of many. Some are found, too, in connexion with §§ 122-3, where, contrary to the rule established by Schaedel, *Die Listen des großen Papyrus Harris*, p. 17, the name of the same Theban funerary temple of Ramesses V is written with the *prenomen* Usima'rē-skheperenrē (45, 40). For the double-entry book-keeping here referred to see below, pp. 58. 72 ff. and finally pp. 99 ff.

<sup>2</sup> No better example can be quoted than one from the Turin papyrus containing accusations against a priest of Elephantine; see my new translation of the relevant passage in *JEA*, xxvii, 60-1. There seem, however, to be some exceptions to the rule that

the term always refers to the reigning Pharaoh; see (e.g.) p. 16 in reference to § 235.

<sup>3</sup> See the scenes from four Theban tombs reproduced and admirably commented on by S. Berger in *op. cit.*, xx, 54-6.

<sup>4</sup> *P. Harageh* 3, see *op. cit.*, xxvii, 76.

<sup>5</sup> In my commentary on *P. Ch. Beatty V*, rt. 7, 12-8, 6 (see *Hierat. Pap. Brit. Mus.*, 111, Text, p. 48, n. 8), I realized that the word *st* had something to do with taxes, but failed to grasp that this verb means properly to 'assess' the amount. That meaning emerges clearly from the Wilbour papyrus, and other important passages bearing upon the problem are translated below on p. 57; see too the example in my article *JEA*, xxvii, 66.

<sup>6</sup> See in the Synopsis under § 200.



to it by Ramesses II (§ 117), a small chapel hitherto unknown of Ti'o, the consort of Amenophis II (§ 57), and the temple of Mūt of Ashru at the south end of the great complex of sacred buildings (§ 213). All these were separate administrative entities possessing lands within the stretch of country covered by the surveyors of the Wilbour papyrus. In the placing of the temple of Amen-Rē at the head of the sections we encounter for the first time the close parallelism of arrangement with the enumeration of the benefactions of Ramesses III that has come down to us in the celebrated Harris papyrus.<sup>1</sup> In both documents Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis are dealt with in that order, after which are listed a number of smaller temples which likewise had considerable possessions. It was not in the Egyptian temperament to be consistent or rigidly systematic,<sup>2</sup> and the Wilbour reveals a certain number of misplaced paragraphs, but these exceptions are not of sufficient consequence to conceal or to set in doubt the general scheme. Thus in Section III there are four (§§ 140-3) and in Section IV there are two (§§ 234-5) possibly extraneous headings intercalated between the Theban and the Heliopolitan series of temples, and other similar inconsistencies are noted in the Synopsis as they occur. In particular, it is only in Section I that the smaller temples follow quite immediately after those of the three great capitals. We shall see that the land-owning institutions which provided the Wilbour papyrus with its paragraph-headings are by no means only temples, and the intercalated paragraphs above referred to belong mostly to institutions of other kinds, these, however, usually occupying the later parts of all the sections. For instance, at the very end of Sections I, II, and III are paragraphs devoted to the *minē*-lands and *khato*-lands of Pharaoh in the charge of different officials, and it seems almost certain that the erased conclusion of Section IV (see above, p. 4) terminated in the same way.

A conclusion of importance to be deduced from this general scheme is that Section I is far from complete, since its first paragraphs belong to the Memphite temples. But since, on the other hand, we have found reason for thinking that the column of Text A numbered col. 1 in this edition was the actual first column of that text (see p. 4), it appears to follow that the first half of Section I must have been contained in another roll, so that we must conceive of the Wilbour papyrus as merely one volume out of a series of similar administrative records.

To find the great temple of Karnak playing a prominent part as a separate land-possessing institution even as far north as the neighbourhood of Heracleopolis is of considerable interest, since Breasted<sup>3</sup> evolved the theory that in the reign of Ramesses III the possessions and administration of Karnak were merged into those of that king's own temple at Medīnet Habu. This inference from the data of the Harris papyrus was indeed questioned a few years ago by Schaedel, but the evidence adduced in his brilliant essay was somewhat slender, and it is valuable to be able to reinforce it with new material.<sup>4</sup> The other Theban temples mentioned in the Wilbour follow one another in chronological order backwards, beginning with the 'Mansion' of Ramesses V (§ 58),<sup>4</sup> then that of Ramesses IV (§ 60), then Medīnet Habu (Ramesses III, § 64) and the Ramesseum (Ramesses II, § 69), and finally the 'House' (□ pr) of Haremhab (§ 70) and one also which may have been a foundation of Tuthmosis II, unless the royal name is to be emended into that of Amenophis II (§ 75). Those among these temples which are styled 'Mansion' (□ hwt) were undoubtedly funerary temples lying along the fringe of the Western desert, but the location of the other two is less certain. It is interesting to find the same chronological arrangement of temples carried out in the Amiens papyrus recently published by me.<sup>5</sup>

The fact that in the reign of Ramesses V so many funerary foundations of earlier kings were still alive at Thebes and had separate administrations of their own is something of a surprise. Only a few years ago it could reasonably be questioned<sup>6</sup> whether the temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu

<sup>1</sup> Now accessible in the convenient transcription by W. Erichsen in the *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* of the *Fondation Reine Élisabeth*. For a complete translation see J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, §§ 151-412. Valuable improvements in interpretation in Schaedel, *op. cit.*; see too my remarks *JEA*, xxvii, 72 f.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.*, IV, § 180.

<sup>3</sup> For Schaedel's criticisms of Breasted's position see his *op. cit.*, 27 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In each case only the first mention is given. The other

occurrences can be found by reference to the Synopsis under that number.

<sup>5</sup> See my *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, pp. 1-13. The point here mentioned is discussed in my commentary on the Amiens papyrus, *JEA*, xxvii, 43-4.

<sup>6</sup> See Nelson, *Work in Western Thebes 1931-33* (*Or. Inst. Commun.*, No. 18), p. 45, elaborating an idea put forth, though on erroneous grounds, in Breasted, *op. cit.*, IV, §§ 158 ff., especially § 177.



had not absorbed at least some of the wealth of the neighbouring Ramesseum, a great sanctuary barely a century old and due to a Pharaoh for whom Ramesses III showed the greatest regard. Some support for this thesis will be found in facts to be set forth at a later stage.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the Wilbour papyrus teaches us that in the reign of Ramesses V not only the Ramesseum, but also other earlier Theban temples were still living, if not flourishing, institutions. What is now proved to be true of Thebes holds also, as we shall see, of Heliopolis and Memphis, if in a lesser degree; and the Amiens papyrus just mentioned indicates that various subsidiary foundations within the precincts of the temple of Karnak, these indeed going back to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, still enjoyed a relative autonomy in the middle of the Twentieth. How far the evidence of the Wilbour papyrus can be utilized in a negative sense is doubtful, but it is perhaps legitimate to argue that, if the funerary temples of kings as great as Tuthmosis III and Amenophis III had been still able to maintain their cults, one might have expected to find fields belonging to them within the region here surveyed and assessed.

The Heliopolitan temples of the Wilbour papyrus, i.e. those which from their position therein have to be reckoned as belonging to the 'Estate of Rē', are six in number, or seven if we count an institution (§ 78) qualified by less pretentious an appellation than that of 'House' (*pr*) or 'Mansion' (*hwt*). Strangely enough, three of the larger establishments were not situated in Heliopolis itself, but were dependencies at a greater or smaller distance from the city. To take the metropolitan temples first, by far the most important was the 'House of Rē-Ḥarakhti' (§ 144), no doubt the oldest and the most deeply venerated of all the Heliopolitan fanes; it is mentioned also in the Harris papyrus and elsewhere, and was under the direct care of the High-priest of the sun-god there known as the 'Greatest of Seers' (*wr msw*). There were also temples built by Ramesses II (§ 76) and by Menepthah (§ 79) respectively; allusions to the former of these have been noted in other texts, but the latter is new to us. The Wilbour papyrus makes no reference to the perhaps relatively insignificant shrine of Atum in which the Ethiopian conqueror Piṭankhy burned incense, nor yet to the Chapel of Ḥathōr Nebḥōtep mentioned on the Turin slate tablet.<sup>2</sup> Of the temples outside the city named in our papyrus probably the largest and richest was that which served as cult-centre for a colony of settlers bearing the name 'Those of the Mansion of Raḥmesse-ḥek-Ōn in the House of Rē north of Heliopolis' (§ 77); this foundation of Ramesses III is doubtless that of which important remains have been discovered at Tell el-Yahūdīyah 18 km. north of the city, and which acquires a new interest because its name is twice in the papyrus abbreviated to Na-t-ḥō, i.e. 'Those of the Mansion', obviously the true etymology of the Greek place-name Nathō, though it is highly questionable whether the Nathō of the Wilbour is identical with that of Herodotus.<sup>3</sup> In Section IV a paragraph (§ 238) is devoted to the House of the Nile-god Ḥapy, 'Father of the Gods', mentioned as Heliopolitan likewise in the Harris papyrus; the site of this has been found at Atar en-Naby, on the east bank 2 km. south of Old Cairo. More problematical is a 'Mansion of Raḥmesse-miamūn, Beloved like Rē' (§ 237), since it is only in a round-about way and not with perfect certainty that we are impelled to seek its location somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb, more familiar under the name of Gurob, near the entrance to the Fayyūm; mention of this temple is made on a very fragmentary sheet of papyrus found on that ancient site,<sup>4</sup> and the Abydos stela of a Semite whose Egyptian name was Raḥmessempiamūn, a king's butler who lived under Menepthah,<sup>5</sup> speaks of him as a native or a resident of 'Raḥmesse-miamūn, Beloved like Rē'; it can hardly be a mere coincidence that another stela of the same man was discovered by Loat actually at Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See under § 69 in the Synopsis of Text A.

<sup>2</sup> On these and the temple-site of Heliopolis as a whole see the valuable article by H. Rieke, *ZÄS*, LXXI, 111 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See below in the Synopsis under § 77.

<sup>4</sup> See my *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 28, 2. 7.

<sup>5</sup> In the Cairo Museum; see Mariette, *Abydos*, II, Pl. 50; a photograph, *Ann. Serv.*, XL, Pl. 8; Rowe (*loc. cit.*, p. 45) is wrong in saying that this high official there worships Menepthah; he worships Osiris, and the adjacent cartouches merely indicate

the reign in which he lived. The birthplace of this man seems given in two different forms, an Egyptian form introduced by *p-n* and a Semitic form introduced by *n*; or is the former the place of residence and the latter the place of origin? These indications are quoted by Grapow, *ZÄS*, LXXIII, 53, but he takes Raḥmesse-miamūn-mer-mi-Rē, not as a place-name, but as the name of our official's father.

<sup>6</sup> Loat, *Gurob* (bound up with Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas, Part I*), Pl. xv, No. 2.



The Memphite series comprises seven sanctuaries, headed by the oldest temple of all, that of 'Ptah, the Great, South of His Wall, lord of 'Ankhtowē' (§ 80). A common epithet of Ptah was 'He who is upon the Great Seat',<sup>1</sup> and with this is obviously connected the land-owning institution prominently recorded by the Wilbour papyrus under the heading 'Great Seat of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Ptah' (§ 3A). In this name we seem to detect the echo of a ceremony in which the reigning king took his seat upon the throne of Ptah, though for such a rite there is no explicit documentary evidence. The Rosetta stone reveals the fact that the Ptolemies were crowned in Memphis, but we have but little testimony to justify us in assuming the same place for the coronations of earlier periods. It was already known, however, that the commemorative Royal festival known as the *Sed*-festival, or at least some part of it, was celebrated at Memphis (*P. Harris*, 49, 10), and for that fact our paragraph-headings afford new testimony. Three times we find, always among the Memphite temples, a 'House of Ra'messe-miamūn, Repeater of *Sed*-festivals in the House of Rē'<sup>2</sup> (see *Syn.*, § 83), and closely associated with this we must probably regard the 'Mansions of Festival' named in § 189, since a similar term occurs in various places. Perhaps most informative of all, in spite of its late date, is a passage quoted by Sethe from the stela of a High-priest of Memphis who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Auletes: 'It was I who placed the Uraeus-collar over the head of the King on the day of Uniting the Two Lands and who performed for him all the rites of the Mansions of the *Sed*-festival.'<sup>3</sup> So, too, in the Harris papyrus (49, 12) Ramesses III says to Ptah: 'I restored thy temple and the Mansions of *Sed*-festival which had fallen into ruin long ago under former kings.'<sup>4</sup> Two more temples of Ramesses II at Memphis are doubtless to be distinguished from one another (see *Syn.*, § 82), one of them bearing the epithet 'Beloved like Ptah' (cf. the similar epithet of a Heliopolitan temple above) and the other described simply as 'in the House of Ptah' (§ 149). Finally,<sup>5</sup> the Memphite series of the Wilbour papyrus also includes what is probably the well-known temple of Meneptah of which Professor Fisher, working for the University of Pennsylvania, some years ago laid bare considerable portions, as well as another called 'Mansion' and not 'House'; see *Syn.*, §§ 232, 240.<sup>6</sup>

Coming now to the smaller temples, we again find a remarkable resemblance between the Wilbour and the Harris papyrus, inasmuch as both enumerate these temples in geographical order from south to north. In the Wilbour the fact is less evident for several reasons. In the first place there are a number of small sanctuaries of which the localization can be ascertained only inferentially and inexactly. In the second place the temples are distributed among the four sections, and though within these the order seems clearly to be from south to north, the same temples do not occur in all, and the sequence does not stand forth as conspicuously as in the Harris papyrus. And lastly, there are a few exceptions to the generalization here made. It has seemed that the best way of demonstrating the south-to-north order is to present the better-known of the temple-sites in the form of a Table, with the paragraph numbers of Text A attached to them. The sites are placed in the geographical order given by the

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Harris*, 44, 3, cf. 46, 6. Ptah is not the only god who receives this title, but it is accorded to him with greater regularity than to others. On the famous Sabacōn stone in the British Museum (No. 135\*, see Porter and Moss, *Bibliography*, III, 226) 'Ptah upon the Great Seat' is the name given to the earliest form in which Ptah emerged, prior even to his forms as Nūn and Naunet, the primeval Ocean-deities who were the father and mother of Atum. Unhappily this passage throws but little light upon the nature of the Great Seat in question, unless we assume that it was the sacred place where Ta-tjenen first appeared; the latest commentator (H. Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, in *Abhandlungen Berlin*, 1939, especially pp. 24-5) has but little to say on this subject. For a phrase definitely allocating the Great Seat to Memphis see *Proc. S.B.A.*, xxxv, 170.


<sup>2</sup> In both cases where the final adjunct appears the sign for Rē is imperfectly preserved, but to read Ptah is impossible.

<sup>3</sup> Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, III, 135. On the *Sed*-festival at Memphis see further *JEA*, v, 192 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In *ZAS*, xxxix, 85, Breasted called attention to a *ushabti*-figure in the Leyden Museum (P91), the owner of which was

the 'overseer of works in the Mansions of *Sed*-festival and in the palace of the King's House'. See further, on these buildings, Von Bissing & Kees, *Untersuchungen . . . Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, I, pp. 13 ff. A block of the reign of Ramesses II found at Tanis (Montet, *Tanis*, ed. Payot, p. 83, Fig. 17; cf. also a bronze vessel, *Mon. Piot*, 1941, p. 21, Fig. 4, No. 390) records his having built a great temple 'to the north of the Mansions of Jubilee', and from this I have argued, *JEA*, xxx, 60, that Ramesses II celebrated at least one of his Jubilees at Tanis (i.e. Pi-Ra'messe), as did also Ramesses III. For these Festival Mansions in general see also *op. cit.* 27 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The temple called 'House of Amūn of the Beautiful Foreland in Memphis' is placed among the smaller temples, and therefore was doubtless not in Memphis itself. See the Synopsis under § 103.

<sup>6</sup> In a *pōsh*-entry (Type A) of Section I (16, 37) reference is made to 'the foreland  (certainly not 'wine-jar stand') of Binerēt (i.e. Meneptah) in the House of Ptah', and, according to all analogy, this must have been a field-owning institution and must have had a paragraph of its own in the lost part of that section.



place-names in the Harris papyrus and the Golénischeff Onomasticon, which are themselves quoted to serve as a check. It is well known that these documents follow an order from south to north, though in the Fayyūm and Lower Egypt there are departures therefrom which will be the subject of later comment. By observing the numbers of the paragraphs in my Table the reader will be able to see for himself how far the order here claimed is vindicated, and how far it is illusory.<sup>1</sup> Map I (following p. 54) will be found useful as a supplement to the Table.

If the paragraph numbers in Table I are carefully examined, it will be seen that only in a very few cases does their order disagree with the south-to-north sequence of the temple-sites in question. In fact departures from that sequence occur solely in Section I, and then only if the topographical findings of pp. 40 f. below are correct. The chief discrepancy would be § 28, if that paragraph turned out to belong to Spermeru after all, and not to Su. But in any case there would be nothing very surprising if irregularities occurred here, for the towns named in Section I either belong to or are near the Fayyūm, a tract of country where the natural sequence is not nearly as obvious as in the ribbon-like Nile Valley. In this respect the Fayyūm resembles the Delta, and it is well known that in the nome-lists the nomes of Lower Egypt do not present the same consistent pattern as those of Upper Egypt, and similarly in the Delta towns of the Golénischeff Onomasticon it is difficult to find any logical order at all.

Thus the south-to-north sequence of the smaller temples in Text A clearly rests on a sound foundation. For Egyptian geography this fact is of considerable importance as enabling us to determine relatively and approximately the location of a number of temples and place-names not occurring outside the papyrus. Thus in Section I the Chapel of Amūn 'who hears from afar' (§ 23) is likely to have been situated at no great distance from She, i.e. in the neighbourhood of Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb.<sup>2</sup> In Section II the towns or villages of Opē (§ 96), T-wah-Tjayef (§ 97),<sup>3</sup> N-awē-n-p-nūte (§ 98),<sup>4</sup> Pi-Wayna (§ 99), and that containing a sanctuary of Thoēris (§ 102) may be inferred to have lain northwards of Spermeru (§ 92) in that order, and the position of T-wah-Tjayef is confirmed by the place given to it in Section III (§ 170), immediately after the temples belonging to Spermeru (§§ 163-9). In the last-named section the town of Sharopē (§ 173) is separated by only one entry from those (§§ 170-1) belonging to T-wah-Tjayef, but the intrusive entry (§ 172) is of a kind that makes it uncertain whether we ought to draw any conclusion with regard to that town.

The geographical problems presented by the smaller temples will be discussed in greater detail farther on, and for the moment the rough indications given above will suffice. Each of these temples is regularly described as 'the House' (𓂏𓏏 *pr*) of such and such a deity, the gods and goddesses in question being Amūn with various epithets (§§ 23. 24. 30. 96. 97. 98. 103. 161. 170. 173. 253. 270), 'Anti (§ 265), Arsaphes (§§ 4. 8. 9), Bata (§§ 91. 160. 268), the Divine Ennead (§ 25), Ḥathōr (§§ 264. 267), Ḥar-Min<sup>5</sup> and Isis (§ 157), Isis alone (§§ 19. 34), Mont (§§ 62. 249), Nephthys as the consort of Seth (§§ 28. 94. 168), Osiris (§§ 11. 87. 250), Sebk-Rē (§§ 159. 254), Suchus (§§ 12. 20. 21. 261), Thoth (§§ 89. 90. 140. 252), Thoēris (§ 102), besides the deified king Kha'kaurē Sesostri III (§ 36). Excluded from this enumeration are Ḥa'py (§ 238)<sup>6</sup> and Onūris (§ 186),<sup>7</sup> who are named outside the geographically arranged series, and Rē-Ḥarakhti, whose special type of sanctuary is to be mentioned shortly; nor have I included

<sup>1</sup> See, too, the more comprehensive Tables at the end of the Plate-volume of my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*.

<sup>2</sup> The temples named in §§ 34-6 lie outside the sequence of smaller temples, so that no inference with regard to their position can safely be drawn.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'The Village of Tjayef'.

<sup>4</sup> Or, translated, 'The Houses of the God'.

<sup>5</sup> Gauthier, *Personnel du dieu Min*, p. 17, finding on a Vatican stela (No. 128c = Marucchi, *Museo egizio*, pp. 129 ff.) its owner named as First prophet of 𓂏𓏏 𓂏𓏏 𓂏𓏏, rightly concluded that Min-Horus and Isis of Ekhnim should be understood, since if a triad had been intended the name of Horus would have followed that of Isis instead of preceding it; the same order

is found *P. Harris*, 61, a, 8 (Coptus), 11 (Ekhnim). Gauthier might have quoted the High-priests of Min and Isis mentioned on his preceding page, since these ignore Horus as being identical with Min. The combination 𓂏𓏏 𓂏𓏏 Min-Ḥar-nakht is well known, see Sélim Hassan, *Hymnes*, p. 149. The position of Horus before Min here provides an alternative form of this fusion of two gods. Conclusive evidence of that fusion is found in Cairo 589 = Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, p. 144, a statue of Dyn. XVIII, where offering is addressed to 𓂏𓏏 𓂏𓏏 𓂏𓏏 'Ḥar-Min of Coptus and Isis the god's mother'; Ḥarmin is also a common personal name (Ranke, *Ägypt. Personennamen*, 248, 19. 20), which is found also in Greek as Ἀμμιν, Ἐμμιν.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 15, n. 2.



TABLE I. TEMPLE SITES

Note that place-names within square brackets [ ] are not actually mentioned in the text, but are certain deductions from the names of the deity or deities, or from other data.

In one or two cases names of deities are substituted for place-names, when the town of the cult is unknown; such names are placed in ( ).

Under the headings of the Harris papyrus and the Golénischeff Onomasticon vertical dots are placed between those place-names which are separated from one another by others. The names in the Onomasticon are here accorded the numbers assigned to them in the Commentary on that document in my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*.

SECTIONS OF P. WILBOUR				P. HARRIS, 61, a. b	GOL. ON., 4, 15-5, 8
I	II	III	IV		
			Hermonthis, § 249	..	Hermonthis (332)
		[Coptus], § 157 <sup>1</sup>	..	Coptus, a, 8	Coptus (340)
	Abydus, § 87	Abydus, § 158	Abydus, § 250 <sup>2</sup>	2	Abydus (350)
			Hermopolis, § 252	Hermopolis, b, 3	Hermopolis (377)
	Na-Usima <sup>3</sup> rē-miamūn, § 89 <sup>1</sup>	..	..	..	..
	P-Wadjoi, § 90	..	..	P-Wadjoi, b, 8	Pi-Wadjoi (380)
			(Amūn Mui-Khant), § 253	(Amūn Mui-Khant), b, 9	Pi-Mui (383)
		Anashana, § 159	Ashana, § 254	Anasha, b, 10	..
		..	Men'onkh, § 262	..	Men'onkh (384)
		..	'Akhwey, § 264 <sup>3</sup>	..	..
	Sakō, § 91	Sakō, § 160	Sakō, § 268	Hardai, b, 11	Hardai (385)
			..	..	Sakō (386)
[? § 28, see below] <sup>6</sup>	Spermeru, § 92	Spermeru, § 163	..	Spermeru, b, 12	Spermeru (388)
Heracleopolis, § 4	..	..	..	Heracleopolis, b, 13	Heracleopolis (389)
[(Osiris Khant-'Aru)], § 11 <sup>7</sup>	..	..	..	..	..
She, §§ 24, 26	..	..	..	..	She (390)
Barna, § 25	..	..	..	..	Robana (391)
Rē-n-hōnē, i.e. El-Lāhūn, § 20	..	..	..	..	..
(Suchus the Shedtite), i.e. Crocodylopolis, § 12	..	..	..	(Suchus the Shedtite), b, 14	..
[Su?], § 28 <sup>6</sup>	..	..	..	Su, b, 15	..
(Amūn in the Backland), § 30	..	..	..	(Amūn in the Back- land), b, 16	..
			..	Aphroditopolis, b, 17	Aphroditopolis (393)
			..	..	Memphis (394)
			Cf. Pi-Ha'py, § 238 <sup>8</sup>	Cf. Pi-Ha'py, 29, 7 <sup>8</sup>	Pi-Ha'py (397)

<sup>1</sup> In theory Ekhmīm might be meant, that town having the same deities as Coptus, see *Harris*, 61, a, 11, compared with *ibid.*, a, 8. But the order of the paragraphs in P. Wilbour speaks in favour of Coptus.

<sup>2</sup> The Harris papyrus places Abydus and This in front of the other temples, in the former case probably on account of its special importance, and in the latter probably because it hangs closely together with its companion. The town of This (*Tnl*) occurs also in the Wilbour (§ 186), but not among the temples. The Wilbour also once has Abydus out of place (§ 234).

<sup>3</sup> With the cult of Thoth. Perhaps to be placed at Shēkh 'Ibādah, the later Antinopolis.

<sup>4</sup> The Harris papyrus, like P. Wilbour except in B 10, 16, uses the definite article *ḥt*, not the word for 'house' *ḥt*. Hence the first element is here rendered as P-, not Pi-.

<sup>5</sup> Known to be Es-Sirīyah on the east bank, quite 20 km. to the south of Cynopolis.

<sup>6</sup> For the question whether this section belongs to Spermeru or to Su, see p. 14 and § 28 in the Synopsis.

<sup>7</sup> On this temple see the Synopsis under § 11.

<sup>8</sup> This place was closely associated with Heliopolis, and is placed in the Heliopolitan section by both the Wilbour and the Harris papyri, see above, p. 12.



the deities of the temples of the three capital cities dealt with earlier. By way of anticipation it may be added that further temples are referred to in Text B, and the *pōsh*-entries of a certain type name many smaller shrines, chiefly of forms of Amūn. Here we will deal only with some other religious foundations that play a more or less important role in the paragraph-headings.

Sandwiched in among the smaller temples we find in the towns of Men'onkh (§ 263), Sakō (§§ 162, 272), Spermeru (§ 169), Heracleopolis (§ 7), She (§ 26), Shatina (§ 35), Su (§ 29), and the Keep of 'Onayna (§ 101) a type of sanctuary which bears the name of 'Sunshade of Rē'-Harakhti' (𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒𓂓𓂔𓂕𓂖𓂗𓂘𓂙𓂚𓂛𓂜𓂝𓂞𓂟𓂠𓂡𓂢𓂣𓂤𓂥𓂦𓂧𓂨𓂩𓂪𓂫𓂬𓂭𓂮𓂯𓂰𓂱𓂲𓂳𓂴𓂵𓂶𓂷𓂸𓂹𓂺𓂻𓂼𓂽𓂾𓂿𓃀𓃁𓃂𓃃𓃄𓃅𓃆𓃇𓃈𓃉𓃊𓃋𓃌𓃍𓃎𓃏𓃐𓃑𓃒𓃓𓃔𓃕𓃖𓃗𓃘𓃙𓃚𓃛𓃜𓃝𓃞𓃟𓃠𓃡𓃢𓃣𓃤𓃥𓃦𓃧𓃨𓃩𓃪𓃫𓃬𓃭𓃮𓃯𓃰𓃱𓃲𓃳𓃴𓃵𓃶𓃷𓃸𓃹𓃺𓃻𓃼𓃽𓃾𓃿𓄀𓄁𓄂𓄃𓄄𓄅𓄆𓄇𓄈𓄉𓄊𓄋𓄌𓄍𓄎𓄏𓄐𓄑𓄒𓄓𓄔𓄕𓄖𓄗𓄘𓄙𓄚𓄛𓄜𓄝𓄞𓄟𓄠𓄡𓄢𓄣𓄤𓄥𓄦𓄧𓄨𓄩𓄪𓄫𓄬𓄭𓄮𓄯𓄰𓄱𓄲𓄳𓄴𓄵𓄶𓄷𓄸𓄹𓄺𓄻𓄼𓄽𓄾𓄿𓅀𓅁𓅂𓅃𓅄𓅅𓅆𓅇𓅈𓅉𓅊𓅋𓅌𓅍𓅎𓅏𓅐𓅑𓅒𓅓𓅔𓅕𓅖𓅗𓅘𓅙𓅚𓅛𓅜𓅝𓅞𓅟𓅠𓅡𓅢𓅣𓅤𓅥𓅦𓅧𓅨𓅩𓅪𓅫𓅬𓅭𓅮𓅯𓅰𓅱𓅲𓅳𓅴𓅵𓅶𓅷𓅸𓅹𓅺𓅻𓅼𓅽𓅾𓅿𓆀𓆁𓆂𓆃𓆄𓆅𓆆𓆇𓆈𓆉𓆊𓆋𓆌𓆍𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕



apparent.<sup>1</sup> In *P. Harris*, 6, 12 the *sšm-hw* of Mut and Khons are said to have been adorned with gold and precious stones; does this adornment apply only to the sacred images, or were the shrine and the boat itself decked out in the same lavish fashion?

It is at least suggestive that no reference to the *sšm-hw* 'tabernacle' of Ramesses III is found in Section II, but that here towards the end of the Theban series there are inserted four paragraphs (§§ 71-4) headed 'The god of Usima'rē-miamūn' (i.e. Ramesses III), just as in Sections III (§§ 141-3) and IV (§ 235) paragraphs relating to the 'tabernacle' of the same king are intercalated between the Theban and Heliopolitan series. This seems to favour the hypothesis that all these paragraphs refer to one and the same cult-object, namely the *sšm-hw* of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu. Even the seemingly strange expression 'the god of Usima'rē-miamūn' might then obtain an explanation, since Nelson has shown, in the above-mentioned article, that this *sšm-hw*, though undoubtedly comprising the statue of the king, was in some mysterious fashion fused with the god Amen-Rē. Perhaps, however, an obstacle to the above hypothesis will be found in the fact that two entries of §§ 73-4 have elsewhere corresponding to them what will henceforth be known as *hōnk*-entries.<sup>2</sup> These are entries of the type 'Land donated (*hōnk*) to the god (or gods) of Pharaoh'<sup>3</sup> and refer to property consecrated by gift to the god or gods in question. There is some reason to think, as we shall see, that the deities in question were wayside statues situated in the midst of their own fields, which would of course explain why no mention was made of the locality apart from that contained in the line of measurement. Who was the donor? In theory no doubt the King, who appears to have claimed the sole right to alienate landed property. But I strongly suspect that the real donors were the high officials or prophets said to be in charge of these sacred foundations. It will be remembered that on the donation stelae, of which we have plenty, though mostly of late date and very obscure, a private person is often named in the body of the text, but the King regularly appears as the dedicator in the figured representation above.<sup>4</sup> A passage in the Harris papyrus seems to state the true position (11, 1-3):

'The tabernacles,<sup>5</sup> statues and groups (*ib-ibw*) to which the officials, standard-bearers, controllers and people of the land contributed, and which Pharaoh placed upon the foundation (*sdf*) of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, for (him to) protect them and defend them to all eternity: 2,756 gods, making 5,164 persons.'

Note that these statues are described as 'gods' in the Harris passage. Are we to think of them as statues of Amūn? I consider it possible at least in most cases, though in others the god may have been shown embracing the King. But it seems also possible that an image of the King may have been intended,<sup>6</sup> and that this was termed a 'god' owing to the cult paid to it and to some protective or prophylactic powers it was supposed to possess.<sup>7</sup> M. Drioton has recently published such a statue of Ramesses III with magical texts directed against scorpion-stings and snake-bites which was discovered on the high desert near Cairo.<sup>8</sup> Once in Text A, however, we find as heading 'the Image of Usikha'a'rē-setpenrē-miamūn (i.e. King Setnakhte), which is in Men'onkh' (§ 262), and in a fragmentary papyrus published by Glanville recording corn paid to the 'image' of Ramesses II,<sup>9</sup> as well as on a stela found at Medāmūd, knowledge of which I owe to the kindness of M. Varille,<sup>10</sup> the word *ḥwt* 'image', 'statue' is employed, not the expression *p ntr* 'the god'. Consequently it must remain somewhat obscure what the latter expression and its plural actually signify in Text A.

<sup>1</sup> This interpretation seems borne out by comparison of the Kurnah passage above with the great restoration inscription of Tut'ankhamūn (ll. 12 ff.), translated by Bennett in *JEA*, xxv, 9.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 86 f.

<sup>3</sup> For the word *hōnk* and its strange writing see Appendix I, 2, below, pp. 111 ff. There are thirty-seven entries of this type in Text A.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 112, with n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Sšm-hw*, see above, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> This is suggested by the representations and inscriptions found in the tomb of Pennē at Anibah, not very satisfactorily dealt with in Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv, §§ 474-83. For a quotation from the main inscription see below, p. 111.

<sup>7</sup> Here we may recall, though without necessarily assenting

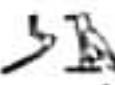

to it, the article by Spiegelberg in which, having found in an Old Kingdom tomb the legend 'It is he who puts his gods into imperishable writing' or 'painting', he interpreted the gods in question to be the figures or hieroglyphs depicted on the walls of the tomb, see *ZAS*, LXV, 119-21.

<sup>8</sup> *Ann. Serv.*, xxxix, 57-89. Can the female accompanying the King have been Isis, so often mentioned in the texts as protecting her son Horus?

<sup>9</sup> *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, Jan. 1929, pp. 19 ff. The papyrus is *Brit. Mus.* 10477, and a new transcription is to be given in my *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, p. 59, No. xix; for translation and commentary see already *JEA*, xxvii, 58 ff.

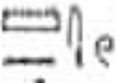
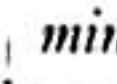
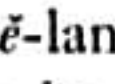
<sup>10</sup> Dating from the reign of Ramesses III. The important initial sentence has been quoted, by permission, below, p. 112.

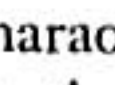


Lastly, the heading of § 10, which reads 'the Foundation (lit. 'Staff') of the Vizier Raḥotpe, who is dead', refers to a foundation of some kind difficult to determine commemorating a well-known Vizier of the reign of Ramesses II. The word  *mṛw* here employed is familiar in the sense of 'stick' or 'staff' (*Wb.* II, 28, 14), and the determinative  in similar contexts quoted below and in the notes shows that the Egyptians thus interpreted it, though in all three passages the sense must be metaphorical. A pair of examples occurs on a donation stela of the reign of Ramesses I published by Spiegelberg,<sup>1</sup> where the donor, the 'troop-captain and fortress-commander Iia', states:

'I have given 50 arouras of land for the offerings of Amūn of the Castle, and have given 21 arouras of land for my Foundation (*mṛw*) and also 3 arouras of land for the Foundation (*mṛw*) of Ḥatiay, son of. . .'


The remaining example—the only one mentioned in the Berlin Dictionary (II, 28, 15)—is of importance inasmuch as it is known to allude to the funerary chapel (*ḥwt-k*) which the famous Amenḥotpe, son of Ḥepu, caused to be built for himself.<sup>2</sup> One feature common to the three passages is that they all have reference to foundations instituted by private individuals on their own behalf.

As already pointed out, not all the land-owning institutions whose fields claimed the attention of the surveyors were religious, and we have now to consider those that were undoubtedly secular. Several  *mnw(t)* 'landing-places' of Pharaoh possessed fields of their own; these were the 'landing-places', whether on the Baḥr Yūsuf or on the Nile, at Mi-wēr near the mouth of the Fayyūm (§ 37), at the Keep of 'Onayna (§§ 85. 155), which probably was situated much farther north, and at Ḥardai, which is Cynopolis (§§ 84. 154). From the heading of one of these (§ 155) we learn that the administration was in the hands of the local mayor, who also appears to have been responsible for some 'fields of Pharaoh' (§§ 86. 156. 241) connected with the estate of the 'landing-place' in a way we cannot determine (so too in § 242). Allusion has already been made to the paragraphs near the ends of the sections which deal with the  *minē*-lands (§§ 40-3, 198-200) and  *khato*-lands (§§ 44-50. 113-16. 201-7) of Pharaoh. What little can be elicited with regard to these two kinds of Royal land is reserved for discussion in the Introduction to Text B, the exclusive topic of which is the *khato*-lands. Here it need only be said that these were placed under the supervision either of certain high officials or of local mayors or prophets. Two paragraphs, and two only (§§ 196-7), are directly concerned with 'the Treasury of Pharaoh', but a third (§ 192) deals with a special department of it.

The Queen appears to have possessed her own household with fields of its own (§§ 109. 153. 172, cf. too § 193; a second queen, § 276), while the concubines of the king held their property in common. From other sources it was known that Pharaoh kept  *pr-ḥnr* 'Harems' at Memphis and at Mi-wēr (Moeris, Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb), the latter attested as early as the Twelfth Dynasty, but it is new and interesting to find these Harems as land-owning institutions, the former in §§ 38. 110. 277 and the latter in §§ 39. 111-12. 278-9. Their lands were administered by the Overseer of the King's Apartments (B 19, 8),<sup>3</sup> or by a local mayor (§§ 38. 110), or by a simple controller (*rwḏw*, § 39),<sup>4</sup> or else, curiously enough, by the Overseer of the Cattle of Amūn (§§ 111. 277. 279).<sup>5</sup>

We have now passed in review all the institutions, both religious and secular, to which belonged fields measured and assessed by the surveyors of the Wilbour papyrus, but it remains to study the sub-headings or virtual sub-headings which resulted from the administration of the fields belonging

<sup>1</sup> *ZAS*, LVI, 56.

<sup>2</sup> The word is discussed elaborately, but not quite satisfactorily, in Robichon & Varille, *Le Temple du scribe royal Amenhotep*, pp. 12-13. In Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*, Pl. 24, ll. 9-10; Pl. 26, l. 21 mention is made of the '*mṛw*' (det. ) of King Usima'rē-miamūn' (Ramesses III), which the editors, without any good reason, take to be the name of a ship; Pl. 26, l. 18 names a like institution as belonging to Ramesses II. The rendering 'endowment', Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, § 925, is at least approximately correct.

<sup>3</sup> For a New Kingdom official Raḥia exercising this function at Memphis see Berlin 7270 (*Aeg. Inschr.*, II, 192-4), a second Ḥarmin whose statue is at Leyden (D 38, Boeser, *Aeg. Sammlung*, V, Pl. 7; cf. too Louvre C 213 = Pierret, II, 10), a third named

Amenmosē on a Serapeum stela, *Rec. trav.*, XXI, 73, and a fourth named Ptahmosē in Vatican No. 127a, Marucchi, *Il Museo egizio Vaticano*, pp. 120 ff., presumably the same man as on the Goringe stela *Rec. trav.*, XXXVI, Pl. 9. For the corresponding official at Mi-wēr see below, p. 45, n. 5. Other mentions of the Harem at Memphis, see Spiegelberg, *Museum Meermann-Westreenianum*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> The title *rwḏw* 'controller' is frequently used in connexion with the Royal Harems (see *Wb.*, II, 413, 16) and apparently refers to officials of high rank who exercised a certain tutelage over the Harem ladies. It is unknown, however, whether such officials were subordinate to the Overseer of the King's Apartments or not.

<sup>5</sup> See below the Synopsis, under § 111.



to these institutions being placed in the hands of different officials. The crucial word employed in this connexion is, as we have already seen,  $\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{t}}$ , *rmnyt*, which appears properly to signify all those fields in different localities embraced by a single administration. A larger *rmnyt* might thus comprise several subordinate *rmnyt*, and other papyri show us that the term might even have been placed in front of any temple-name standing at the head of a paragraph, so that the true meaning must be something like 'administrative domain', literally perhaps all that appertains to, or comes under the control of, a single 'arm' ( $\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{n}}$ ). In the Wilbour it at first seemed appropriate to render the word as 'department', but since that rendering conceals the fact that locally scattered fields are really meant, I have now substituted the translation 'domain' everywhere.

The most complex paragraph headings comprise three separate lines each beginning with a word in red. The first line names a temple, while the second and third are introduced by *rmnyt*, this followed by some defining and restricting words. It is by no means uncommon to find the second line opening with  $\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{y}}\overline{\text{t}}$  *rmnyt pr pn* (r)-*ht* 'domain of this house under the authority of . . .'; and the third line similarly, but replacing (r)-*ht* by  $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{t}}$  *m-drt* 'by the hand of . . .'; examples are §§ 58. 64. 127. Here the compound preposition (r)-*ht* ushers in the title and name of a superior functionary exercising general supervision over the lands designated as 'domain', whereas *m-drt* is found before employees of lesser rank more actively concerned with the fields in question.<sup>2</sup> Not infrequently the second line is intended to govern the following paragraph as well, in which case we may find the plural *rmnywt* 'domains', e.g. §§ 52. 60. 127,<sup>3</sup> though sometimes the singular is none the less written, e.g. §§ 64. 215. In subsequent paragraphs referring to the same land-owning institution it was unnecessary to repeat at full length the name of the latter, and the use of 'this house' in a sub-heading (see above) enabled it to move up into the first place, the sub-sub-heading or original third line then becoming the sub-heading or second line, e.g. §§ 52. 66. Similarly an original sub-heading might tacitly govern the next paragraph, in which case a line which form and meaning show to be a sub-sub-heading is left at the top as the sole heading; this is exemplified in §§ 53. 61. 65. It will now be understood what I meant in speaking above of 'virtual sub-headings'; they are headings of paragraphs which are subordinate in thought to a real heading, though not presented as subordinate. Thus in §§ 60-3 the fields belonging to the funerary temple of Ramesses IV at Thebes occupy four consecutive paragraphs, but the name of the temple is written out only in § 60, the first of the series.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the variations of form in the different headings, but by way of illustration I will note that § 92, after stating in the first line that the House of Seth of Spermeru was under the authority of the prophet Huy, thus compressing what might have been a sub-heading into the real heading, then adds a completely superfluous line, 'Domain of this house under his authority'. And again the sub-heading and sub-sub-heading may be combined in a single entry, e.g. § 117. Of greater interest is the question as to who were the persons responsible for the administration of the temple lands. Information on this point is often withheld from us, not only in the case of small temples (e.g. §§ 90. 96. 97), but also in the case of large ones like the ancient sanctuary of Ptah at Memphis (§ 80)<sup>4</sup> or the famous temple of Sethos I at Abydos (§ 88). Occasionally, however, we are able to make up for the reticence in the heading by recourse to the body of the paragraph, see (e.g.) under §§ 98. 99, or by reference to Text B, see (e.g.) under § 28 in the Synopsis. The following notes on the responsible priests and officials are necessarily sketchy and provisional. In connexion with many temples a 'prophet' is named as in charge;<sup>5</sup> so, for example, at Heracleopolis (§ 4), Sakō (§ 91) and Spermeru (§ 92). In no case, however small the temple, can we infer with certainty that there existed only one prophet, all that is vouchsafed to us being that the fields in that particular paragraph were under the authority of that particular prophet. In point of fact, Text B explicitly mentions five prophets in connexion with Heracleopolis (see the Synopsis of Text A under § 4); Text A itself names two

<sup>2</sup> Here mention must be made of the amazing ligature for *pn* found frequently in Text A (see the textual note *a* on A 26, 1) and less often in Text B, see B 5, 26, note *a*.

<sup>3</sup> For *m-drt* see further below, pp. 67 ff., 76 f.

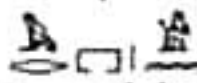


<sup>4</sup> For the curious writing of this plural see note *a* on 21, 33.

<sup>5</sup> For this temple, however, a prophet Kha'emwese is mentioned in § 146.

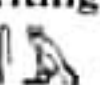
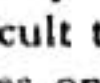
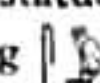
<sup>6</sup> See Table III below following p. 196.



prophets for Crocodilopolis (§§ 12. 14), Text B (20, 23) probably adding one more; and the title 'second prophet' is mentioned in connexion with the temple of Seth at Spermeru (§ 164) and with that of Sebk-Rē at Anasha (§ 259). The last-named fact suggests that some of the prophets given simply as such were really 'first prophets', but that designation is actually used only of the well-known High-priest Ra'messenakhte of the great temple of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, at Karnak (§§ 51. 117. 208), who, let it be said in passing, is also mentioned as in charge of the mortuary temple of Ramesses V, at this time perhaps only in course of building (§§ 122. 214). The High-priest of Heliopolis, as has been observed already (p. 12), is referred to under his particular title of 'Greatest of Seers' (§ 144), and the principal priest at Medīnet Habu, as was known from other sources, bears the title *Setem*<sup>2</sup> that we associate more readily with Memphis (§§ 127. 220). Ordinary priests (*wēb*-priests) are often met with in Text A as holders of land and occasionally looking after temple lands on behalf of a prophet (88, 32; probably also 57, 6. 31; 62, 23; 81, 26),<sup>3</sup> but they are never named in the headings or sub-headings, presumably being of too little importance to be credited with such authority. The title 'god's father' is borne by several holders of land, but similarly does not occur in the headings; the title of 'lector-priest' is not mentioned in the papyrus at all.

The paragraph-headings provide evidence of various lay officials who, though apparently not of priestly rank, nevertheless appear to have been definitely attached to their own special temple-administrations. It is perhaps better to defer until later details about the overseers of cattle. In connexion with the estate of the great Theban god Amūn there is found in charge of domains of the temple of Karnak (§§ 52. 117. 152. 208) or of Medīnet Habu (§§ 131. 223; perhaps also § 129) a very high official called in some places  'the Steward of Amūn' and in others 'the Steward Usima'rēnakhte', and in Text B this evidently much-trusted personage is the principal administrator of the Royal lands, see below, pp. 161 f. The reliefs on a lintel found at Eshmūnēn in 1935 show him to have been a son of the afore-mentioned High-priest of Amūn Ra'messenakhte.<sup>4</sup> Another man bearing the same title occurs in charge of a domain of Medīnet Habu in § 226, and was perhaps the predecessor of Usima'rēnakhte. The Amiens papyrus, as I have shown in my commentary on that document,<sup>5</sup> strikingly corroborates the evidence of the Wilbour as regards this office. Otherwise the rank of 'steward' ( lit. 'overseer of the house') is not mentioned in Text A in connexion with any other temple, though in Text B (20, 7) we find a 'Steward of the House of Ptaḥ' in charge of Royal lands. The title  *idnw* found in some sub-headings is troublesome; the word means 'substitute', and may be used of various persons who take the place of others when needed and who consequently may be of only slightly lower rank. Unfortunately we are seldom told of what functionary a man is the 'substitute', 'deputy' or 'lieutenant'. All Egyptologists are familiar with the title *idnw n mšr* 'lieutenant-commander of the army' and with the two regional *idnw* 'deputy-governors' who represented the King's son of Kush in Nubia. But there are also known from other texts men who occupied the post of *idnw* in the administration of some temple,<sup>6</sup> and it is very possible that the *idnw* Ptaḥemḥab mentioned in the Wilbour in connexion with the great temple of Karnak (§ 212) and with the funerary temple of Ramesses V (§ 215) was of this rank and a permanent member of the temple administration; so too perhaps Pra'emḥab, who looked after fields belonging to the temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu

<sup>1</sup> Here the adjective 'first' is omitted.

<sup>2</sup> He is familiar to Egyptologists under the name *Sem*-priest, the ordinary writing of his title down to a relatively late period being simply  *im*. Recent experiences have taught us, however, that the most ancient writings are often more abbreviated than was previously supposed, and since, on the one hand, it is difficult to explain the  which is so frequent from Ramesside times onwards, and since, on the other hand, one Old Kingdom statue (Cairo 51, see Borchardt, *Statuen*, 1, 46) gives the writing , I have here referred to this priest as the *Setem*-priest. The title is dealt with at some length in my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, under No. 120 of *On. Am.*; see too Griffith's discussion in his *Stories of the High Priests*, pp. 3 ff., and for the priest called thus at Medīnet Habu see the Synopsis under § 127.

<sup>3</sup> So too a prophet is sometimes represented by a *wēb*-priest in his function of administering *khato*-land of Pharaoh, see 57, 13; 63, 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Mitt. d. deutschen Instituts . . . in Kairo*, vii, 33 f., with Pl. x, b.

<sup>5</sup> *JEA*, xxvii, 42-3.

<sup>6</sup> For 'the *idnw* of the House of Amūn' see the examples quoted by Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres*, 42, n. 4, to which add *P. Brit. Mus.* 10052, 4, 27 = Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, Pl. 28; Wreszinski, *Aeg. Inschr. Wien*, vi, 1. An *idnw* in the Mansion of Nebma'rē on the West of Thebes, Berlin 19580 = *Aeg. Inschr.*, 11, 83. An *idnw* of the temple [of Heracleopolis Magna], Cairo, *Journ. d'entrée* 39410 = *Mélanges Maspero*, 1, 822. Also the *idnw* without qualifying adjunct Pleyte & Rossi, *Pap. de Turin*, 155, 11, appears to have been an official of the temple of Esna.




It has generally been assumed that the temples, when once endowed by Pharaoh with their fields, cattle, equipment and personnel, themselves administered their affairs without outside interference.<sup>3</sup> That this view requires some qualification might have been concluded, even before the discovery of the Wilbour papyrus, from the Memphite statue of the scribe and chief steward Amenhotpe, which narrates how King Amenophis III built himself a funerary temple near Memphis and ordained that it should stand in perpetuity under the authority of whoever might be the Royal Steward ( $\overline{\text{𓅓}} \overline{\text{𓆑}} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$ ) at the time.<sup>4</sup> The Wilbour contains further evidence of the kind, though it is less unambiguous and can perhaps be explained differently. The most striking case is that of some fields possessed by the temple of Medinet Habu and stated to have been managed by  $\overline{\text{𓄿}} \overline{\text{𓂀}} \overline{\text{𓃾}} \overline{\text{𓅓}} \overline{\text{𓆑}} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$  'the Despatch-writer of Pharaoh'; in two paragraphs (§§ 64. 65) this official is said to have had *rwdw* 'controllers' as his executive subordinates, and in a third he is assisted by an *idnw* 'deputy' (§ 137). Again, § 60 tells of fields belonging to the funerary temple of Ramesses IV which were under the authority of Neferabē, 'who is dead'; the latter epithet makes it wellnigh certain that the former mayor of Hardai (Cynopolis) was meant (see 56, 46-7 and B 17, 13); and it seems likely that the often-mentioned (e.g. 24, 17; 28, 4) deputy (*idnw*) Iia who is named as serving under him was deputy-mayor pending the appointment of a successor.<sup>5</sup> The heading of § 124 refers to a domain of the Theban temple of Ramesses V that was in the charge of a 'scribe of the granary of Pharaoh'. These clear examples of lay officials taking a hand in the administration of temple property may well raise a doubt in our minds whether the granary-overseers previously mentioned were not, after all, officials of the State, not mere members of a temple staff. The same question arises in reference to a former  $\overline{\text{𓄿}} \overline{\text{𓂀}} \overline{\text{𓃾}} \overline{\text{𓅓}} \overline{\text{𓆑}} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$  'overseer of the Treasury' found in control of domains belonging to the temple of Ramesses IV (§ 126); and an affirmative answer is even more likely in the case of the  $\overline{\text{𓄿}} \overline{\text{𓂀}} \overline{\text{𓃾}} \overline{\text{𓅓}} \overline{\text{𓆑}} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$  'chief of the record-keepers' (§§ 125. 217), since the land with which he was entrusted belonged to the funerary temple of Ramesses V still probably only half-built. The most unexpected titles encountered in this manner are those of a  $\overline{\text{𓄿}} \overline{\text{𓂀}} \overline{\text{𓃾}} \overline{\text{𓅓}} \overline{\text{𓆑}} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$  'stable-master of the Residence', who attends to fields specially reserved for the offerings of the Karnak temple (§ 121) and two simple  $\overline{\text{𓄿}} \overline{\text{𓂀}} \overline{\text{𓃾}} \overline{\text{𓅓}} \overline{\text{𓆑}} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$  'soldiers'—if my reading is correct—who had the care of fields belonging

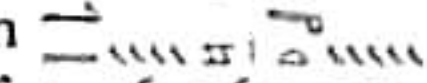
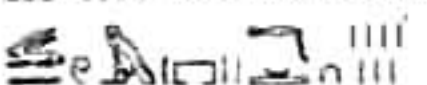
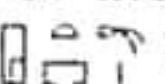
<sup>4</sup> Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, Pls. 79-80. The references to the Royal Steward are in ll. 21, 44, 46. The main passage, after narrating the building and endowment of the temple (ll. 13-20) then continues: 'His Majesty caused this

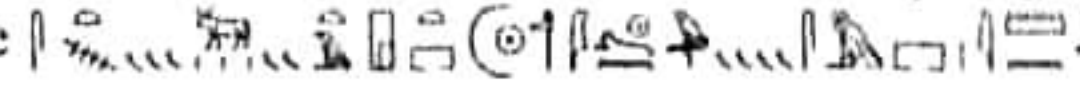
<sup>3</sup> In 43, 8 we similarly find a 'deputy of the overseer of cattle' looking after fields said in the sub-heading of the paragraph (§111) to have been in the charge of the 'overseer of cattle of Amūn'.



to foundations of Pharaoh and of Meneptah respectively (§§ 274. 275). To conclude this topic, it must be admitted that the fact that lay officials were called in to superintend distant provincial estates does not necessarily imply that they had any say in the temple administration generally.

The sub-headings or virtual sub-headings sometimes use a more comprehensive term to designate the superior officers responsible for the management of the temple domains; the phrase  'under the authority of (various) officials' is found not only five times in the Wilbour, but also in several passages of the Harris papyrus.<sup>1</sup> Since in the Wilbour examples the following line always mentions a specific functionary, it might seem necessary to attach to the word *srw* the narrower meaning of 'State officials' as opposed to 'temple officials'; otherwise the phrase would be entirely superfluous. In § 124 the official in question is the 'scribe of the granary of Pharaoh' mentioned above, and this example supports the idea here suggested. In §§ 56. 135. 212. 215, however, the officials thus named are an 'overseer of the granary', an 'overseer of cattle' and (twice) a 'deputy', and in these cases it has been conjectured above that we have to do with members of the temple staff. Here again our papyrus presents us with a problem without providing the means of solving it.

It has been seen that when the fields belonging to one and the same temple or land-owning institution fall under different paragraph headings, it is usually because the functionary responsible directly or indirectly for their management is different. This mode of differentiation is particularly clear with the *minē*- and *khato*-lands of Pharaoh, see above, p. 18. But there are other modes. Thus at Crocodilopolis domains 'founded by Pharaoh' and 'founded by King Ḥekma'rē-setpenamūn' were distinguished from one another, though since part of each of these was administered by a separate prophet, they give rise to four paragraphs in all (§§ 12-15). The same type of distinction is found also in the Amiens papyrus, 1, 7; 4, 7. 11; 5, 3. 4, where we also find (3, 14; vs. 2, x + 6; vs. 4, x + 8) the expression  *rmnyt mt(t?)* 'regular domain' which in the Wilbour claims five separate paragraphs (§§ 4. 16. 163. 253. 257). If my translation is correct, this expression may well refer to the original religious foundation not administered in connexion with the benefaction of any particular king. In the Wilbour the phrase is used only of provincial temples of medium importance, but in the Amiens document it occurs in reference to the great temple of Amūn at Karnak. An altogether mysterious epithet applied to a domain is applied in the sub-heading of § 172 to the estate of the Queen Ḥenwōte; here we read 'domain of this house  which was (formerly) in the seventeenth house', and mentions of the 'second' and 'third' house are found (32, 7; 27, 8) in what will later become known as *pōsh*-entries of Type B. Are these numerically distinguished 'houses' departmental sections in the central office of the assessors,<sup>2</sup> or can the word 'house' here refer to a separate document or papyrus (cf. the use of  for 'stanza' or 'paragraph'),<sup>3</sup> in which case we are reminded of the problematic ordinals discussed above on pp. 5-6?

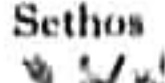
Another principle which influenced the organization of the temple estates was the type of service which the separate domains were called upon to render. It will be recalled that in the Harris papyrus the Theban (10, 7-11) and Memphite (51, a, 4) sections enumerating the specific gifts of Ramesses III name different herds of cattle in parallelism with, and as though they were on the same footing as, the different temple-buildings founded by that monarch in the two cities. The herds and the subordinate temples have each its own separate staff and personnel, the cattle in two cases (*Harris*, 10, 11; 51, a, 4) being under the supervision of an 'overseer of cattle'. The impression thus gained of the autonomy of the temple-herds is reinforced by the Wilbour papyrus, which, while not mentioning the herds themselves, nevertheless devotes whole paragraphs to the domains which supplied their food or paid for it. What is even more remarkable is the fact that these paragraphs, the headings to which may be illustrated by the example  'Herbage' of the Mansion

<sup>1</sup> *Harris*, 10, 3. 4. 5; 12, a, 2; 32, a, 9; 51, a, 3.

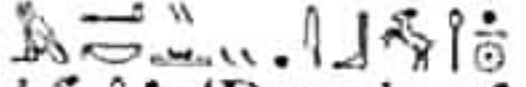
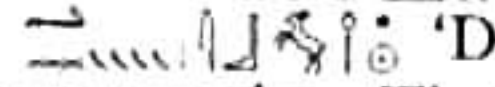
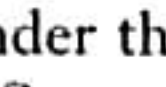
<sup>2</sup> They can hardly correspond to the 'sectiona' (*σφραγίς*) mentioned in the Graeco-Roman papyri, which likewise refer to land and are numbered with ordinals. If I understand the entry in Preisigke's dictionary aright this was a topographical, not an administrative, term.

<sup>3</sup> For the latest discussion of this word see Blackman in

*Orientalia*, VII, 64.

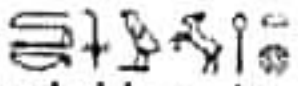
<sup>4</sup> The bull or cow after *sm* is undoubted, see note a on 17, 7, and it must be a determinative of *sm* because that word has no other. This justifies the rendering 'herbage for cattle'. Under Sethos I we actually find this fuller expression, cf.  *sm n ihw*, Nauri Decree (*JEA*, XIII, Pl. 42, ll. 63-4, with a slight variant, *ibid.*, ll. 81-2).



of Usima'rē-setpenrē in the House of Amūn' (§ 32) are not subsumed as one might expect under the paragraphs devoted to the temples in question, but are placed apart in separate series of their own (§§ 31-3. 104-7. 174-86. 243-6), these series observing internally the same chronological and topographical order as the main enumeration of the temples.<sup>1</sup> The same is true of a series of paragraphs (§§ 187-95) immediately following the longest of the 'herbage' series, but devoted to  'food<sup>2</sup> for white goats' (§§ 187-8. 190-3; also § 247), alternatively called  'Domain of white goats' (§§ 189. 194-5), and again associated with the names of various temples. That temples thus possessed large herds of white goats is, I believe, a novelty, and it is surprising to see that they, like the cattle, possessed fields of their own; of this fact Text B provides further evidence.<sup>3</sup> A memory of the nomenclature here found seems preserved in the place-name *Τροφή αἰγῶν* found in a Greek papyrus from Oxyrhynchus.<sup>4</sup> It is hardly likely that administration of the lands reserved for the upkeep of these cattle and goats was completely divorced from the administration of the temples to which the herds belonged, but no clear proof is found to the contrary. In regard to certain temples not of the first rank we find, within the series of paragraphs dealing with those temples, headings of the type 'Domain of this house under the authority of the  overseer of cattle X'; so at Heracleopolis (§ 5), Crocodilopolis (§ 18) and Spermeru (§ 165), as well as in the temple of Ramesses II at Memphis (§ 149), and we might feel inclined to ask whether this was not merely another way of referring to what we may inelegantly, but concisely, describe as 'herbage domains'. Unhappily this view presents difficulties, since at least two great temples have not only paragraphs with headings of the said type, but herbage paragraphs as well; for Medīnet Habu compare §§ 135-6 with § 175, and for the temple of Ramesses II at Memphis compare § 149 with § 184. On the other hand the Karnak temple, which has a herbage paragraph in § 174, possesses in the same section another paragraph (§ 120) the sub-heading of which ascribes to the fields in question exactly the purpose presupposed above for the herbage paragraphs; the sub-heading reads 'Domain which makes provender for cattle under the authority of the overseer of cattle Ra'messenakhte', while the unique heading 'Domain of the divine offerings [of Amen]-Rē, King of the Gods' suggests for this special domain in the Karnak series a further restriction of purpose that is far from clear. Again, § 120 and indeed the whole question of the herbage and white goat paragraphs cannot be considered apart from four paragraphs which have sub-headings closely similar to that of § 120, but providing for 'provender for asses of<sup>5</sup> the Northern Oasis'—on account of this unexpected information we may, I suppose, conclude that donkeys flourished particularly well in the Oasis of El-Bahariyah, as they do in that of Siwah to-day.<sup>6</sup> Two of the paragraphs naming these asses deal with fields belonging to the Treasury of Pharaoh (§§ 196-7), but the other two belong to the temple of Karnak (§ 209) and that of Medīnet Habu (§ 222), and like § 120, but unlike the herbage paragraphs, are mentioned within the series of paragraphs belonging to those two temples.

To sum up our perplexities on this problem, (1) we do not see why the herbage and white goat paragraphs should be kept quite apart from the paragraphs dealing with the other domains of the same temples, and (2) we do not see what other function can be attributed to those temple-domains which

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Wb.*, II, 162, 5, gives various examples of *mk* in reference to 'food' for groups of human beings, but not for animals. A boundary stone of the reign of Sethos I from the Fayyūm (*Rec. trav.*, XIV, 38) contains a place-name most curiously reminiscent of the headings here discussed; its two vertical columns read 'SW. of the House of Suchus the Sheditite, N. of the E. (?) riparian land of Pharaoh  Mek-su-yeb-hedj'. The assonance seems too remarkable to be pure chance, and in any case the name contains a reference to white goats.

<sup>3</sup> Text B, it will be remembered, deals with *khato*-lands of Pharaoh, which are always spoken of as 'on fields of' some religious foundation, if not 'on fields of Pharaoh' himself. In correspondence with the paragraphs of Text A here discussed we find in B *khato*-lands 'on fields of herbage of T-hō in the House of Amūn', B 18, 2; 19, 19; 21, 32; 22, 5, as well as 'on

fields of food for white goats of T-hō in the House of Amūn', B 17, 32; 18, 19; 20, 18; 22, 14; 24, 31 (T-hō is the short writing of the name of the great temple of Medīnet Habu). To revert to Text A, by a curious accident *pōsh*-entries of Type B are found only for herbage paragraphs (34, 27; 93, 24; 95, 10; 101, 9), not for the white goats.

<sup>4</sup> Grenfell & Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XIV, No. 1687, 11 [11]. According to Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 328, only one Greek papyrus reports the colours of Egyptian goats; white goats are not mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> Doubtless 'of' here means 'imported from'; § 209 adds after '. . . Oasis' the words 'of this house (i.e. Karnak) under his authority', i.e. the authority of the Steward of Amūn.

<sup>6</sup> 'Siwa heisst in den Liedern das eselreiche Land, da andere Haustiere selbst Kamele und Ochsen, bei der Dattelkost nur schwer gedeihen', J. C. E. Falls, *Drei Jahre in der Libyschen Wüste*, 241.



stood under the authority of overseers of cattle except the function implied in the very name of the herbage paragraphs, the more so since § 120 seems perfectly explicit on that point. Other curious facts about 'overseers of cattle' that emerge from the Wilbour papyrus are that they sometimes superintended domains belonging to the Harems (Memphis, § 277; Mi-wēr, §§ 111-12. 279), and that they were often appointed (like various other officials as well as priests) to look after *khato*-lands of Pharaoh, see §§ 203-4, also B §§ 17. 19. 27. 28. 42. 44. One positive conclusion can be drawn from the data of the papyrus, namely that every temple which possessed herds of sufficient importance had also its own 'overseer of cattle' to look after them; thus 'Ashaemhab held this office in the temple of Heracleopolis (B § 42; A § 5), Ra'messenakhte in that of Karnak (e.g. §§ 210. 279), Ra'mosē in that of Medīnet Habu (§ 204), Pkatja in that of Ramesses II at Memphis (§ 149) and Setem in that of Meneptah in the same city (A § 240; B § 44), besides others concerning whom the evidence is slightly less convincing.<sup>1</sup>

It might seem natural to interpret in a similar way a number of other paragraphs which begin with a word  $\overline{\text{smw}}$  usually credited with the sense of 'harvest' (§§ 6. 17. 22. 27. 63. 93. 95. 100. 166. 171. 251. 260. 266. 269. 271. 273). Just as we have seen certain temple lands set apart to provide fodder for animals of certain kinds belonging to the temples, might not these paragraphs deal with fields that supplied the corn for the priests and staffs of the temples? But on that hypothesis what account is to be given of the other paragraphs not beginning with this word? Did not they too produce corn, at least to a large extent? For this reason it seems likely that the word *smw* here possesses a different and more technical sense, and one is in fact forthcoming.<sup>2</sup> That  $\overline{\text{smw}}$  determined with grain is closely akin to  $\overline{\text{smw}}$  'summer season' cannot be doubted, and Coptic, as we shall see, suggests that the two words are really one, though used with markedly different meanings.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly the original meaning of  $\overline{\text{smw}}$  must be 'summer crops', 'harvest', though it is far from easy to discover examples wholly free from a further nuance now to be discussed.<sup>4</sup> It seems evident that the notion of the harvest was disagreeably associated in the minds of the Egyptians with the visitations of the tax-collector, so that the word *smw* with  $\overline{\text{smw}}$  secondarily acquired the meaning 'harvest-tax'. In Coptic, where  $\overline{\text{smw}}$  is the word for 'summer', the same word or one identical in appearance is the ordinary equivalent of the Greek *phoros* 'tribute', 'tax', the reference to grain having disappeared or at least sunk deep into the background;<sup>5</sup> for 'harvest' Coptic employs other words. In Late Egyptian the sense 'harvest-tax' is indisputable in a number of instances,<sup>6</sup> and besides the argument above adduced for not taking the word in the paragraph-headings in the simple sense of 'harvest', one can point to a passage in *Sallier I* where  $\overline{\text{smw}}$  is used definitely for a particular kind of fields, obviously those set aside for 'harvest-tax'.<sup>7</sup>

The paragraph-headings beginning with *smw* follow it with the word  $\overline{\text{smw}}$  (§ 17), var.  $\overline{\text{smw}}$  *pš*, which I render 'apportioned' and shall discuss in detail later. They take the form 'Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house under the authority of . . .', and the paragraphs so introduced stand after the main paragraph or paragraphs devoted to the temple in question.<sup>8</sup> This type of paragraph is found only with small or medium-sized temples, the only doubtful cases being § 63, where the temple is that of Ramesses IV at Thebes and where the circumstances may be exceptional, see § 62; and again § 251, where the temple is that of Osiris at Abydos. It is particularly important to note that this type of

<sup>1</sup> For overseers of cattle possessing their own lands see below, p. 84. Part of the business of this official was to see that oxen loaned for agricultural work were not allowed to perish, see *JEA*, xxvii, 21. More information about holders of this office will be found in the Nauri decree, *op. cit.*, xiii, 202, ll. 58 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Important corroborative evidence that the *smw*-paragraphs are not on the same footing as those dealing with 'herbage' (*sm*) will be given below, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Sethe's etymology of *smw* 'summer' as *wšr mw* 'lack of water' (*Zeitrechnung d. alten Ägypter*, in *Nachr. d. k. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1919, 294) seems almost too ingenious to be true. On the other hand, the more obvious derivation from *šmm* 'be hot' is open to the objection that the beginning of the season, in the middle of March, is not particularly hot in Egypt, at all events not north of Cairo.

<sup>4</sup> The best I have found are those in the Asyūt contracts (ed.

Griffith, ll. 309-10), where the farmer gives to his lord the 'first(fruits) of his harvest', and in *Sallier I*, 4, 11; 5, 3, where it is a question of reaping and gathering in the 'harvest'.

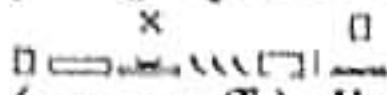
<sup>5</sup> An intermediate stage appears to be the demotic *pš smw hq*, which Sethe translated as 'die Ernte(abgabe) in Silber' and defined as 'die Geldrente der zu pachtenden Acker'; see Sethe & Partsch, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägypt. Bürgerrechtsrechte*, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> See *JEA*, xxvii, 20. So too the examples in the Annals of Tuthmosis III, e.g. Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv, 696, 12; 703, 13; 719, 11; all these are probably to be rendered 'harvest-taxes' rather than simply 'harvest'. In the Bilgai stela, ll. 16-17 (*ZAS*, I, 49 ff.) *smw* is coupled with *šyt* 'dues'; so too Lefebvre, *Inscriptions*, 35, 16; 42, 10.

<sup>7</sup> The passage is translated *in extenso* below, p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> In § 17 it stands exceptionally before the paragraph naming 'the overseer of cattle'.



paragraph is never found with a temple that possesses a paragraph introduced by the words  'Apportioning domain of this house' and concluding with what we shall before long (pp. 39 ff.) discover to be a reference to a local nome administration. The latter type of paragraph is confined, except in the case of the temple of Sethos I at Abydos (§ 158), to temples often of considerable size at one or other of the great capital cities, i.e. at a distance from the fields here attributed to them; see §§ 3. 54. 55. 59. 68. 69. 76. 80. 118. 119. 123. 134. 138. 144. 145. 147. 150. 158. 211. 218. 228. 231. 236. 237. These paragraphs share with the harvest-tax paragraphs the peculiarity of standing at or near (§§ 55. 123. 134. 228) the end of the series devoted to a temple, though it may also happen (e.g. §§ 69. 76. 80) that the apportioning domain paragraph is the only one which that particular section has for the temple in question. *One cannot well escape the impression that the apportioning domain paragraphs perform for the larger and more distant temples the same function that the harvest-tax paragraphs perform for the smaller temples, that in fact the two kinds of paragraph are merely different forms of one and the same kind.* It is reasonable, further, to conjecture that the assessments in the apportioning domain paragraphs would have been described by the Egyptians by the term *šmw* 'harvest-tax'. A trait possessed in common by these two types of paragraph, though by no means confined to them, is that they involve a large number of small-holders with the most diverse titles. But we must leave this latter feature for a more suitable moment.

At the end of our conspectus of paragraph-headings let us pause to consider the first impressions emerging therefrom. The strongest impression may well be one of astonishment that temple and royal property should be found hobnobbing, so to speak, in one and the same administrative document. All the secular paragraphs, if I may so call them, refer either to government institutions (e.g. Treasury, Landing-places) signalized by the epithet 'of Pharaoh' as deriving from the power of the Crown, or else to fields shown by the same epithet to have belonged to the King's personal estate. Strikingly, from our point of view, contrasting with these, albeit enumerated alongside them, are the temples, great and small, and the separate departments devised for the management of their lands. Speaking broadly, one has the impression that the different temples were just as independent the one of the other<sup>1</sup> as they were of the Pharaonic institutions; to illustrate my meaning by a concrete example, I see no reason for disbelieving that the temple of Seth of Spermeru was as independent in its ownership of land as was, on the one hand, the great temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu and as was, on the other hand, the Harem of Pharaoh at Memphis. How then can we explain the coexistence in a single administrative document of such very disparate land-owning institutions? One reason, of course, is the juxtaposition of their fields in the area covered by the survey. But that juxtaposition is not in itself sufficient explanation; in addition it is necessary to note that all these lands were dependent upon, or in some fiscal way responsible on equal terms to, a particular assessing authority. That authority must in theory have received its mandate from the Crown, but whether in practice it acted solely in the royal interest is a problem for further consideration. There is no doubt that shortly after the death of Ramesses III the power of the Pharaoh underwent a rapid decline; his successors, or some of them at all events, became mere puppets in the hands of the High-priest of Amen-Rē at Karnak. Nothing of this, however, is discernible in the *form* of our Text A. There the great temple of Amen-Rē at Karnak is placed on exactly the same level as the tiniest provincial chapel, and the Treasury of Pharaoh has its fields assessed on exactly the same footing as theirs. Such are our first impressions, and there is no denying their strangeness.

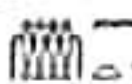
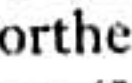
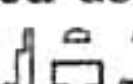
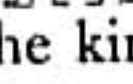
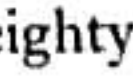
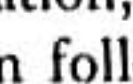
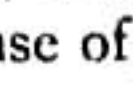
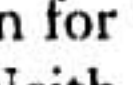
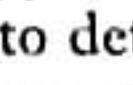
#### 4. The places of measurement: A, general characters

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter (p. 9), the places measured by the surveyors are indicated in single rubricized lines which, within the framework of the paragraphs, give to Text A its consistent and invariable pattern. From the fact that these indications only very seldom exceed the limits of

<sup>1</sup> I here ignore the fact that there was probably some degree of administrative inter-dependence between the various Theban, Heliopolitan and Memphite temples constituting the estates (□| *pr*) of Amūn, of Rē, and of Ptah respectively.

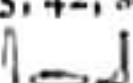
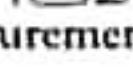


a single line (e.g. 31, 41-2; 50, 18-19) it follows that the location of the fields is but vaguely described, mainly by reference to some village or conspicuous landmark, and without that naming of the neighbouring properties which is characteristic of the later donation stelae. Texts A and B agree in this respect, and what will be said about the one applies equally to the other. Not only does the Wilbour papyrus acquaint us with some hundreds of hitherto unknown place-names, but it also affords inestimable data for picturing to ourselves those features of the Egyptian countryside which will have caught the eye of a Ramesside visitor. A wealth of new or rare topographical terms is used in this connexion, but unfortunately the following enumeration of the more frequent provides only too convincing evidence of the limitations of our lexicographical knowledge.

The cardinal points are naturally much to the fore, and also combinations like 'north-east', 'south-west' are very common. It will be remembered that the Egyptians, unlike ourselves, took the south as the starting-point of their orientations, so that what lay southwards was in front, and what lay northwards was at the back. Consequently we find the terms  'front' and  'back' employed to designate respectively the more southerly and the more northerly parts of a given locality, though not quite as often as might have been expected. Examples are: 'Measurement made in the riparian land (*idb*) south of the front part of this place', A 29, 21; 'Measurement made at the front of the Village of Inroyshes', A 22, 9; 'Measurement made in the new island north of the back part of this place', A 24, 11; 'Region of the *patē*-land east of the back part of the Island (of Amūn) Overrunning-his-Boundary', B 10, 21.<sup>1</sup> These quotations have introduced us to some other topographical expressions very common in the lines of measurement. 'This place' () is regularly used to avoid repetition of a place-name written out in the last preceding line of the kind. The terms  *idb*<sup>2</sup> and  *prt* are of frequent occurrence; Text A alone has more than eighty examples of the former and nearly forty of the latter. That they are in some degree antithetical to one another is probable, not only from the manner of their employment in the Wilbour papyrus, but also from the fact that in the Golénischeff Onomasticon (1, 12) they stand side by side following 'sand' and 'new land'. It can barely be doubted that both refer in some way to possibilities of irrigation, but the exact technical implications are obscure. In rendering  *idb* as 'riparian land' I am following the consensus of Egyptological opinion and the example of the Berlin Dictionary (1, 153), which gives *Ufer*, *Uferland* as the main meanings. This general sense emerges not only from the use of  *idbwy Hr* 'the two river-banks of Horus' as a synonym for 'Egypt', but also from a possibly unique example of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty in which the word is determined with the sign for 'water' , and which occurs on a donation stela where King Tefnakhte presents to the goddess Neith '10 arouras of land in the *idb*-land, field added by the Inundation-god (Hapy), to be called "the New land of the House of Neith"'.<sup>3</sup> The only other passage known to me where *idb* seems used in a technical sense is in a letter speaking about 'three *idb*-lands' which are to be cleared of trees.<sup>4</sup> This helps but little. On the other hand, the mathematical use of *idb* in a single problem of the Moscow papyrus does appear to point to a piece of land roughly of the shape and proportions of the sign  used to determine the word—a triangular tongue of land.<sup>5</sup> Combining these data, one may perhaps conjecture that *idb* 'riparian land' was normally a long strip which abutted at one end upon the river or a canal. Such land would obviously be of greater value than land without direct access to water, and it is precisely that consideration which in modern Egypt has led to so many plots being long and very narrow, every proprietor seeking to obtain at least a few yards of water-front.<sup>6</sup>

Less evidence is available for determining the nature of *patē*-land. Was it superior or inferior to

<sup>1</sup> Additional examples: *hnt*, A 40, 3; 53, 20; B 12, 23; *plrw* A 23, 8; 33, 2; B 15, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Twice (55, 42, see Corrigenda to this volume; 70, 19) written phonetically  in identical exceptional entries, not in lines of measurement. In the writing of P. Wilbour  is hardly doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> Capart, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, II, 92, stela at Athens; see Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.*, XXV, 190 ff., where there is a valuable note on *idb* mentioning previous discussions (p. 193).


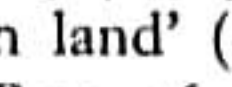
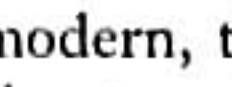
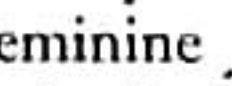
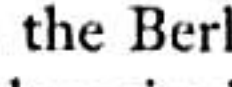
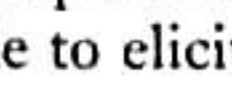
<sup>4</sup> P. Leyden 370, vs. 8, see Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 11.

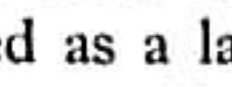
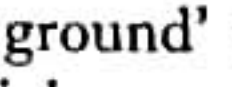
<sup>5</sup> See *JEA*, xv, 171 ff., where the problem is admirably explained. It is concerned with a triangular piece of land in which the base (called the 'breadth') is  $\frac{2}{3}$  of what we should term the height of the triangle (called the 'length'). I am unable, however, to follow the authors in their contention that *idb* was conceived of as a sloping river-bank. Has there not been some confusion in their minds between *wdb* and *idb*?

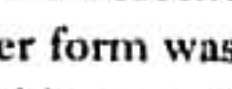
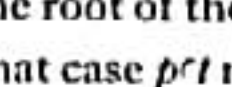
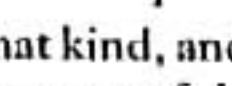
<sup>6</sup> H. G. Lyons, *The Cadastral Survey of Egypt*, p. 31.

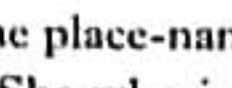


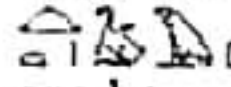
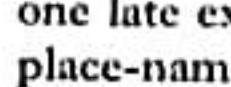
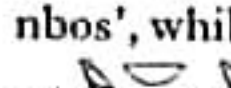
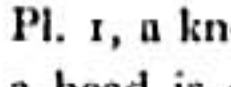
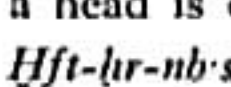
the riparian land (*ibid*) already discussed? To this question no certain answer can be given, and I have relegated to a footnote all it has proved possible to ascertain or guess upon the subject.<sup>1</sup>

Before we pass on to other terms having reference to land and water in their mutual relations, or else naming water in one way or another, mention must be made of another expression that merely serves to orientate. This is  *pr* *hft-hr*, literally something like 'the vis-à-vis' and signifying perhaps 'opposite across the river';<sup>2</sup> there are only three examples, namely A 95, 43; B 8, 16; 12, 34, but one more passage (A 41, 32) employs *hft-hr* as a compound preposition. To return now to words more analogous to 'riparian land' (*ibid*) and 'parē-land', the next commonest is perhaps  *lw* 'island', e.g. A 8, 14; 9, 16; B 12, 26. Inevitable as is in English the rendering 'island', to the Egyptians the word may possibly have conveyed the wider signification possessed by the modern Arabic equivalent جزيرة *gezīrah*.<sup>3</sup> This Sir Henry Lyons defined as including 'not only islands lying in the stream, but also all the lands situated between the high- and low-water marks'.<sup>4</sup> Be as it may the correspondence of the ancient word to the modern, the extended form  *lw n mwt* (e.g. A 12, 16; 22, 3; B 5, 27)<sup>5</sup> doubtless really designates a new island thrown up by the shifting course of the river; probably the Coptic word for 'island' *ⲙⲟⲩⲉ* was a mere shortening of this. From *lw n mwt* must certainly be distinguished the common feminine  (e.g. A 19, 16; 76, 49), which Text B writes more clearly  *mwt* (e.g. B 14, 11); the Berlin Dictionary (II, 27, 8) rightly or wrongly explains this to mean 'the new level ploughlands deposited by the Nile', and I have rendered it everywhere as 'new land'. I have, however, been unable to elicit whether this *mwt* is to be equated with the  *mr* of the Edfu endowment inscription and the demotic *mr*, writings of a term which, as we shall soon see, is to be rendered 'island' like the Coptic *ⲙⲟⲩⲉ*, though not to be understood as a literal island, but rather as equivalent to the Arabic *gezīrah* as above defined.

In both texts we find used as a landmark the word *kryt*, written  in A and  in B, which literally means 'high ground' or 'height'. It occurs, but not very frequently, in contexts like 'Measurement made in the high ground south of Sakō' (A 87, 42; 99, 28) or 'Region of the high ground north of the Village of Surē' (B 13, 23), and it is precisely the infrequency of the word in this con-

<sup>1</sup> *Prt* is rendered 'Ufer' in the Berlin Dictionary (I, 504, 2), which apart from the example in the Golénischeff Onomasticon knows only of some examples at Philae. One of these, referring to Philae itself, is rendered hesitatingly as 'island' by Junker, *Das Abaton*, p. 32. Other Ramesside examples are to be found in the tomb of Pennē at Anībah (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 229, c) and in *P. Amiens* 4, 10, see my *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 6. Finally, Blackman has favoured me with an example from Chassinat, *Edfou*, VII, 179, 1, which reads: 'Mesen is a *pry* of gold, its edges overgrown with lapis lazuli'; this seems to suggest an island or the like, with sandy shores descending to the blue water. It is just possible that the older form was  *Pyr*. 1183, 1205; *Wb.* I, 497, 19 treats this as a 'Gewässer', presumably on the evidence of the determinative; but the second of the two passages says that the *prt* was 'flooded with water', a statement that can be made only of land. Another possibility, however, is to take *prt* as the word at the root of the familiar words  'prince' and  'people'. In that case *prt* might well mean 'fertile land', 'tilth', or something of that kind, and the *prt*-people would be the *αὐτόχθονες*, the original owners of the Egyptian soil.

<sup>2</sup> Important in this connexion is the place-name  *Hftt-hr-nb's* 'Khefte-ḥi-nbos', i.e. 'She-who-is-in-face-of-her-lord' (i.e. Amūn), which Sethe, *Urk. d. 18. Dyn.*, translation, p. 34, n. 4; p. 43, n. 2, claimed to be a name of the whole of Thebes, not, as some previous writers had thought, a name merely of the region west of that city. For examples see Brugsch, *ZAS*, I, 38 ff.; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, IV, 175. Both views, however, prove to be correct, as *Wb.* III, 276, 7-9 has recognized, though without perceiving that the latter must have been the originating conception. Perhaps the clearest case where

*Hftt-hr-nb's* is a mere alternative name of Thebes is in the Leyden hymn to Amūn (*ZAS*, XI, 21); here it occurs in loose apposition to *Wst* and qualified by the words *hr-t(i) ip-t(i) hr st-s m rn-s n Tpt-stw* 'arisen and appointed to her place in her name of *Tpt-stw* (Karnak)'. But the case for identifying *Hftt-hr-nb's* with the west is far stronger than Sethe imagined. He himself (*Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, in *Abh. Berlin*, 1929, §§ 102 ff.) located the cult of the eight primeval gods at  *Tpt-Tmt*,  Medinet Habu, and quoted one late example (§ 102) which substituted *Hftt-hr-nb's* for that place-name. More decisive are three instances in Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 29, 3-4; 31, 8; 44, 10-11, the second and third speaking of 'the great and noble eight gods who rest in Khefte-ḥi-nbos', while the first expands this expression into  *ti thnt Hftt-hr-nb's* 'the cliff of Khefte-ḥi-nbos'. Hence it appears that Khefte-ḥi-nbos included not only Medinet Habu, but also the great peak of El-Kurn, which dominated the city from the west, whence it overlooked Karnak on the opposite bank. So too in *P. Louvre* 3287 = *Bull. Inst. fr.*, III, Pl. 1, a kneeling goddess with the sign of the west  instead of a head is described in the accompanying legend as  *Hftt-hr-nb's*. Lastly, in Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, II, 6-7, the hieratic text gives *m hftt-hr-n-nb's*, where the demotic has *nt hr ti [hst]t n Dm*. It is obvious that the wider usage is derived from the narrower, not vice versa.

<sup>3</sup> For some evidence of this see my note *JEAs*, XXII, 181. Griffith discussed the term *gezīrah* in the seventh memoir of the Eg. Expl. Fund, containing his *Antiquities of Tell el Yahūdīyah*, see pp. 58-9.

<sup>4</sup> Lyons, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

<sup>5</sup> *Tw n mwt* also (e.g.) *Harris* 28, 1; *P. Amiens* 3, 5; 4, 7.



nexion that forbids us to give it the at once more general and more technical meaning which it possesses in the vast majority of the lines of Text B. There, after the words localizing and describing the piece of *khato*-land in question, we usually find the entry *kryt*-land, x 'arouras', the word *kryt* being written of *khato*-land in question, we usually find the entry *kryt*-land, x 'arouras', the word *kryt* being written cursively as in Text A, or else abbreviated to  $\overline{\text{K}}$ .<sup>1</sup> From the facts that the land of Pharaoh was so largely of this variety, and that both the Nauri decree (l. 25) and the Harris papyrus (59, 6) mention this kind of land as having been presented to the gods for the multiplication of their crops, it is clear that *kryt* in the technical sense must have signified agricultural fields of passably good quality; this is confirmed by the fact that in Coptic it has given rise to the very common word for 'field'  $\kappa\omicron\iota\epsilon$  or  $\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon$ . But if the Coptic  $\kappa\omicron\iota\epsilon$  has been bereft of its earlier technical sense, this subsisted in full force in the Graeco-Roman age, at least in contracts and similar official documents. Griffith<sup>2</sup> found  $\text{sh ky}$  in a demotic contract translated as  $\gamma\eta\ \eta\pi\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\iota\tau\omicron\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  'corn-bearing mainland', and some of the examples of demotic  $\text{sh ky}$  quoted subsequently by Sethe<sup>3</sup> are rendered  $\gamma\eta\ \eta\pi\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$  in the Greek dockets. At least in one case<sup>4</sup>  $\text{sh ky}$  stands in parallelism with  $\text{sh mri}$ , which Sethe and Spiegelberg<sup>5</sup> both render 'island-fields' (Inselacker), a rendering corresponding to the contrast between  $\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  in the Greek papyri.<sup>6</sup> The same contrast is found in the great endowment inscription of Edfu, where land called  $\overline{\text{K}}\text{ mri}$  is constantly opposed to land called  $\Delta\overline{\text{K}}\text{ ky}$ , the god Horus possessing a slightly greater area of the latter (7,548 arouras) than of the former (5,660 arouras), and Brugsch in his commentary<sup>7</sup> already implicitly realized that these two types of land, like the Greek  $\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$  above noted, embody the Arabic distinction between *Ray*-land (رى) and *Sharāki*-land (شراقى), the first consisting of those fields that were annually inundated, and the second of those which were not reached by the flood and which had therefore to be irrigated artificially.<sup>8</sup> Since the Greek equivalent of this  $\text{mri}$  ( $\text{mri}$ ) is  $\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ , a closer equivalent in Arabic seems to be the above-mentioned *gezīrah*; I do not know whether Arabic possesses an exact counterpart of the Greek  $\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$ .

In Text A, as I have said,  $\Delta\overline{\text{K}}\text{ kryt}$  is used only as a landmark indicating position, a piece of land standing higher than the surrounding pieces. Prefacing the indications of area in Text B, *kryt* might possibly have the technical sense of *Sharāki*-land, but this is hard to prove, since the word is there never contrasted with *mri* or *mriwt* as we might expect. Instead of this, Text B regularly distinguishes *kryt* from two other terms, (1)  $\overline{\text{K}}\text{ nhb}$ , never written in this full form, but with many slight variants out of which the whole can be constructed with certainty, e.g.  $\overline{\text{K}}\text{ nhb}$  B 10, 19;  $\overline{\text{K}}\text{ nhb}$  10, 20;  $\overline{\text{K}}\text{ nhb}$  11, 17;  $\overline{\text{K}}\text{ nhb}$  14, 28, and (2)  $\text{tni}$ , e.g. B 12, 14, 18; 13, 28, clearly to be read  $\overline{\text{K}}\text{ tni}$  as in a late text;<sup>9</sup> in Text A the latter does not occur at all, and *nhb* is there found only in a doubtful place-name (A 15, 18). Entries like  $\overline{\text{K}}\text{ nhb-land 20 (arouras), tni-land 10, kryt-land 10}$  (B 12, 6; sim. 11, 30; 13, 1; 15, 22) leave no doubt but that the three terms stand in antithesis to one another, and this is confirmed by the Onomasticon of Amenopē (*Gol.* 1, 11 = *Hood*, 1, 10), where the three words occur consecutively in the same order, though here of course preceded and followed by other analogous terms. Both *nhb* and *tni* provide their own etymologies, which curiously have not been noted hitherto: *nhb* comes from a stem meaning 'to open up' and must therefore have a sense not far removed from 'virgin soil';<sup>10</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> See the note on the text, B 3, 20, note c.

<sup>2</sup> *Rylands Papyri*, III, 147, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Burgschaftsurkunden*, p. 164, § 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 316 f. (2, 3, 4).

<sup>5</sup> *Die demotischen Papyri* Hauswaldt, pp. 3\*, 4\*.

<sup>6</sup> Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, s.v.  $\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ; Id., *Wörterbuch*, s.vv.  $\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ .

<sup>7</sup> Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 597 f. In a well-known text at El-Kāb belonging to the First Intermediate period (latest publication, Wreszinski, *Bericht*, 76)  $\overline{\text{K}}\text{ nhb}$  'lowlands' is contrasted with  $\overline{\text{K}}\text{ tni}$  'what is on the height', and these may well be the early equivalents of the two terms at Edfu.

<sup>8</sup> *Ray* and *Sharāki* defined, see A. von Kremer, *Ägypten*, p. 179; Fircks, *Ägypten*, 1, p. 204. Closer Greek equivalents for these terms seem at first sight to be  $\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\mu\beta\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\gamma\eta\ \alpha\beta\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , land that had to be artificially irrigated being called  $\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\pi\eta\gamma\tau\text{-}\lambda\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ , but I gather from Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 24 ff.,

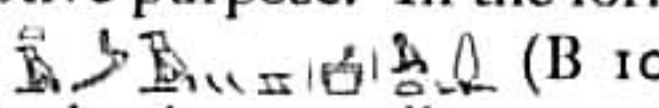
that the factual correspondence is not exact.

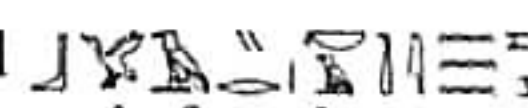
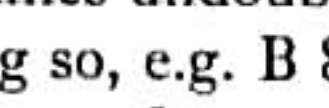
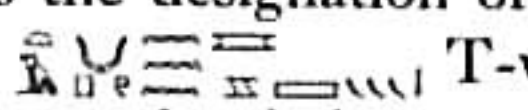
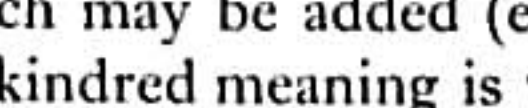
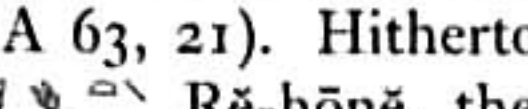
<sup>9</sup> Quoted below in p. 29, n. 1.

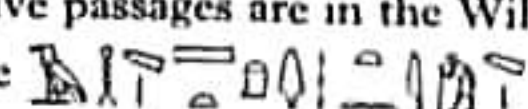

<sup>10</sup> The Berlin Dictionary (II, 308, 8. 9) makes no attempt to define closely the meaning of *nhb*-land. Since the verb *nhb* means 'to open up' (e.g. new quarries) and since at Silsilah an obscure passage seems to declare that the Nile has created *nhb* there after the plan of his heart in order to double the king's offerings (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 175, a, 8 completed by III, 218, d, 13) and since, lastly, the word is also used (Piehl, *Inscr. hiér.*, II, 76; Dümichen, *Baugeschichte*, 51) of the place where a temple is built, i.e. presumably virgin soil, the rendering 'fresh land' seems amply justified. To the examples of *Wb.* add *Nauri* 24 and those in the Griffith fragments described by me *JEA*, xxvii, 64 ff. I do not understand why an El-Amārnah boundary stela (Davies, *El Amarna*, v, pl. 28, l. 21) gives the word the determinative of the tree  $\overline{\text{K}}$ ; *Harris I*, 59, 16 makes it amply clear that such lands could be sown with barley and emmer.



stem *tni* implies not merely 'old age' but also 'decrepitude'.<sup>1</sup> I shall henceforth render *kryt* as 'arable land', *njb* as 'fresh land' and *tni* as 'tired land'; no Greek or Arabic equivalents are forthcoming. Further discussion must be postponed for the Commentary on Text B, but it may here be said, by way of anticipation, that the totals there afford reason to believe that the assessors assessed 'fresh land' at 10 corn-measures per aroua, 'tired land' at 7½, and ordinary 'arable land' at 5, which are exactly the three different rates found in Text A. Obviously these assessments cannot represent the relative purchase prices of the three kinds of land, and indeed we have definite evidence that 'tired land' was valued at only half the price of 'arable land'.<sup>2</sup> If the facts as above stated are correct, the rates of assessment in Text A would appear to be in inverse proportion to the purchase prices of the three types of land.

At this point readers may be asked to bear in mind the frequent impossibility of deciding whether a word in the indications of places of measurement is part of a composite place-name or whether it is simply introduced for a descriptive purpose. In the former case its meaning may no longer be applicable to the place; for example, in  (B 10, 5), translatable as 'the New land of Samē', it is by no means certain that the land was really new at the time of Ramesses V, since in this instance at least we may be certain we are dealing with a definitely fixed and established local name. As will be seen from Table II farther on (after p. 38), I am on the whole in favour of translating place-names, not merely transcribing them, though not prepared to follow out this plan with pedantic consistency. Thus it seemed desirable to render No. 63 as 'the Pond of the Castle of Ḥotpe', whereas it would be going too far to render No. 114 as 'the Place of the Horses of the North'. In each case I have been guided by what was felt to be the more suitable course, well knowing that in the matter of rendering Egyptian names each scholar has a different habit or principle or lack of principle, and that, while it is impossible to please all readers, some at least will be interested to learn what the names of certain localities conveyed to the Egyptians themselves.

In an example that has just been quoted the word  *brkt* occurred, a good Semitic word surviving in the Arabic *birkah*, a 'pond' such as is found near most modern Egyptian villages.<sup>3</sup> Examples are common, sometimes undoubtedly forming part of the place-name (Nos. 62-5), but elsewhere equally clearly not doing so, e.g. B 8, 9; 9, 1; 15, 2. Whether  *š*, which I have rendered 'lake', really meant a larger piece of water than a *brkt* 'pond' is uncertain; an alternative view might be to regard *š* as the older term, and *brkt* as a more recent equivalent. The connexions of *š* with the Fayyūm are well known, and as such, or rather as the designation of the lake which once occupied nearly the whole of that Oasis, it appears in the name  T-wep-She 'the Lake's Beginning' (A 11, 43; 13, 44; 14, 21; B 15, 17). This name was previously known from the stela of Piankhi (l. 77) and probably refers to the region around the town of El-Lāhūn near the point where the Baḥr Yūsuf turns north-westward to enter the Fayyūm some 10 km. farther on. Elsewhere it is only in place-names that *š* is found, see Table II, Nos. 126-30, to which may be added (e.g.) A 14, 45; 15, 10; B 21, 1, names each occurring only once. A third word of kindred meaning is the feminine  *hn(t)*, in Coptic *ḡone*, for which I think I have established the signification 'swampy lake'.<sup>4</sup> This occurs above all in 'the *hōnē* of Mi-wēr' (B 21, 8; abbreviated as 'the *hōnē*', A 18, 20; B 20, 24), which is the oldest occurrence of the expression from which the Greeks took their *Μοίριος λιμνὴ* 'Lake of Moeris'; mention is made also of a *hōnē* east of Spermeru (A 63, 21). Hitherto the meaning 'canal' has been attributed to *hōnē*, mainly on the strength of  Rē-*hōnē*, the original name of the above-

<sup>1</sup> For *tni* the Berlin Dictionary (v, 311, 5) again makes no serious attempt to define the meaning. It is to be noted the verb *tni*, usually rendered 'become old', really means more than this—it means 'to become decrepit'. Thus the 'doomed prince' (Harris 500, vs. 4, 11) became 'infirm (*tni*) in all his limbs' from not being allowed to leave the house to which he had been confined to save him from his fates. For *tni*-land, however, the decisive passages are in the Will of Ewerot (ZAS, xxxv, 13-16), where  'fields with scrub and tired land' are constantly contrasted with 

smooth) tenanted land', and were priced at less than half the value of the latter.

<sup>2</sup> [In revising my proofs this statement seems to me too positive. Its truth depends on the identity of *th šti tni* with simple *tni*, and of *th nmlw n* with *kryt*, see the last note.]

<sup>3</sup> It is disconcerting to find the preposition *m* 'in'—'measured in'—employed before *brkt* 'the pond'. The same preposition is found before *tni* 'the lake' (A 63, 21) and *pt dnt* 'the dyke' (A 50, 15), though the fields cannot have been actually in these water-filled places.

<sup>4</sup> See my article in *JEA*, xxix, 37 ff.



mentioned El-Lāhūn,<sup>1</sup> in Coptic  $\Lambda\epsilon\zeta\omega\upsilon\epsilon$ , which occurs once (A 15, 25, heading of § 20) in the Wilbour papyrus; however, the analogy of the neighbouring T-wep-She 'the Lake's beginning' shows that Rē-hōnē can have meant 'Lake's Mouth' no less well than 'Canal's Mouth'. Yet another probable designation of the Fayyūm is discussed below, p. 47.

A real word for 'canal', 'channel', 'river-arm' is  $\overline{\text{mr}}$ , later  $\text{mi}$ , the first component of the name  $\overline{\text{Mi-wēr}}$  (literally 'Great Channel'), the prototype of *Moîris* spoken of in the last paragraph.<sup>2</sup> In the Wilbour papyrus *Mi-wēr* is usually the name of an important town probably to be identified with Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb (see below, p. 44 f.), but it is uncertain whether in the name Lake Moeris the element Moeris refers to that town or to the adjacent part of the Baḥr Yūsuf after which the town was called. The same word  $\overline{\text{mr}}$ ,  $\text{mi}$  is in all probability<sup>3</sup> found in several other place-names of the Wilbour, and it is curious that no less than three of them contain a word for 'crocodile'; these are  $\overline{\text{Crocodile-Canal}}$ , No. 92 of the Table;  $\overline{\text{the Canal of Suchus}}$ , A 15, 36; and  $\overline{\text{Canal of Khanty}}$ , a crocodile god, B 13, 5; 21, 24. Evidently at one time the canals in and near the Fayyūm were infested with crocodiles, as indeed the cult of Suchus and early writings of Rē-hōnē (El-Lāhūn) eloquently testify. Another word which has some connexions with canals is  $\overline{\text{dnl}}$ , which in the Wilbour is masculine, like the Coptic  $\tau\eta\mu\epsilon$ . This, however, is better rendered 'dam' or 'dyke' like its Coptic equivalent, since the determinative proclaims it to be land rather than water. Still, there can in fact have been little difference in meaning between this masculine word and the feminine  $\overline{\text{dnl}}$ , which is definitely depicted as a canal.<sup>4</sup> The two dykes mentioned in the Wilbour are those of Spermeru (A 44, 22; 50, 15; 58, 31) and of Pi-Ohe (e.g. A 75, 12; 76, 30; B 21, 22).

A more problematic word frequent in our papyrus and undoubtedly in some way connected with water is the masculine  $\overline{\text{hnm}}$ , thus or similarly spelt fifteen times in Text A and seven in Text B.<sup>6</sup> Examples are: 'Measurement made in<sup>7</sup> the *hnm* north of this place', A 79, 34; 'Measurement made to the south of the *hnm* of Sharopē', A 69, 37; and there are place-names called 'The *hnm* of the Shepherds' (A 20, 26; B 15, 13; 22, 29) and 'of the Braves' (A 94, 22; B 25, 18). There is no definite clue to the meaning; in the Golénischeff Onomasticon (1, 8) the word follows the familiar feminine  $\overline{\text{hnm}}$  'well', 'cistern', particularly of the large wells dug in the desert, but our *hnm* is distinct from this and may have been placed near it merely on account of the similar sound.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps we may

<sup>1</sup> See Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, III, 124-5. Scharff (*ZAS*, LIX, 51) sought to show that the original form of the name was not *R-hnt* but *R-n-hmwy*, in which case El-Lāhūn, at the outset at least, would have had nothing to do with *hnt* 'lake'. Shortly afterwards, however, Kees (*ibid.*, 154) disposed of a large part of Scharff's evidence, leaving the inexplicable *R-n-hmwy* entirely isolated. That *R-hnt* really contains the word for 'lake' (Coptic  $\zeta\omega\mu\epsilon$ ) is shown, not only by the unanimous later tradition, but also by the epithets given to Suchus of Shedē in the hymn to him contained in a still unpublished Ramesseum papyrus (Middle Kingdom), namely  $\overline{\text{lord of Rē-sehwy, lord of She, forcing open Rē-hōnē}}$ .

<sup>2</sup> The demotic writing with initial *m* disposes of any doubt that might be felt as to the identification and the reading of the hieroglyphic name.

<sup>3</sup> The qualification is necessary because there are undoubted place-names where the initial  $\overline{\text{mr}}$  is a hieratic deformation of an original  $\overline{\text{mi}}$ . While No. 2 in Table II is perhaps not a certain case,  $\overline{\text{Harris}}$ , 61, b, 7 is open to no such doubt, see Gauthier, *op. cit.*, I, 47; for this name see too *P. Leyden* 348, vs. 8, 4 = *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 135. So too the hymn quoted above in n. 1, proves that the town of Anasha, Ashana discussed below, p. 53, likewise contains the word  $\overline{\text{mi}}$  'island'. Attention is here paid only to names where the initial  $\overline{\text{mr}}$  originally had that meaning; there are, of course, both names and other words where that group is merely the representative of the sound *l*, Hebrew  $\text{ל}$ , see Burchardt, *Altkan. Fremdworte*, 21.

<sup>4</sup> In the Karnak relief showing the fortress of Silē, see *JEA*,

VI, pl. 11. The Berlin Dictionary (v, 465) is probably wrong in distinguishing four separate words instead of only a masculine and feminine one.

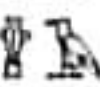

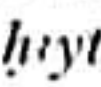
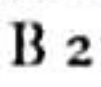

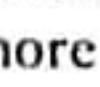
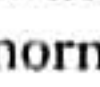

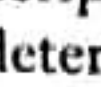


<sup>5</sup> Here said to be north of the town.

<sup>6</sup> Besides these there are two more examples in A and two in B which write  $\overline{\text{hnm}}$  before this masculine word and thus convert it into *mhnm*, see A 73, 5; 98, 32; B 12, 2, 16; in addition, instances in A 19, 2, 4 treat this form with initial *m* as a feminine. It is just conceivable that these six examples might be taken as confused writings of the *mhnm* or *mhnt* mentioned in *Wb.* II, 134, 1, 2, of which the former appears to mean some specific muddy spot not to be exactly determined (see my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, under No. 466 of *On. Am.*), while the meaning of the latter is uncertain. On account of the feminine gender the examples in A 19, 2, 4 are possibly to be identified with the feminine word in the Berlin Dictionary, though they write *mhnm* and not *mhnt*. The other four examples in A and B are in all probability mere miswritings of *hnm*, especially since one of them (A 73, 5) speaks of 'the *mhnm* of Sharopē' found without initial *m* in A 46, 2; 69, 37. Still, it must be noted that in one isolated case of the masculine word (B 12, 2) *mhnm* and not *mhnm* is written.

<sup>7</sup> For the preposition *m* here see above, p. 29, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> The Berlin Dictionary (III, 383, 2) knew only the example in the Onomasticon, but Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 37, l. 12 (see now *JEA*, XXVII, pl. 11, l. 12 of the stela) speaks of 'the *hnm* which is in Abydos', and two wine-jar inscriptions from El-'Amārnah, to be published in *City of Akhenaten*, III as Nos. 75, 133, together with one incomplete one given by Petrie (pl. 22, No. 18), mention as the source of the wine  $\overline{\text{the hnm of Iu-meshed}}$ .



venture a guess and translate 'the basin', though we must add a note of interrogation and the transcription afterwards. Another word connected with water is              



landmarks. One tree-name hitherto unknown is the feminine  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$  *rcr* A 100, 6; B 7, 11; 11, 24; 13, 29; 14, 4; 16, 12; this is found also alone as a place-name with the determinative  $\text{𓆑}$ , B 21, 4. A masculine word employed in the same manner, and almost as obscure in meaning, is  $\text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$  *rcw*, so always written in B, but as  $\text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$  regularly in A; for examples see Table II, No. 40; in this case, however, we are lucky enough to possess a passage not leaving to mere conjecture the fact that it was the name of a specific tree, see *Anast. I*, 19, 3.<sup>1</sup> The text just cited also contains the only example known outside the Wilbour of  $\text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$  *h(r)w*, see Pleyte and Rossi, *Pap. de Turin*, 62, 1 as variant to *Anast. I*, 12, 6; the tree in question seems to have been difficult to climb; it occurs five times in the Wilbour papyrus, A 26, 8 = 34, 15; 63, 17; 81, 39; B 12, 24. Isolated examples of other apparently unique tree-names similarly employed are:  $\text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$  *sst-r(y)r(y)*, perhaps literally 'pig-destroyer', A 90, 6,  $\text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$  *s(r)g(r)*, B 8, 25, and  $\text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$  *k(r)k(r)*, B 13, 8. Well-known, on the contrary, are  $\text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$  *wcn*, A 90, 4 and  $\text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗}$  *t(r)g(r)*, B 12, 28. Since in all these cases the singular of the tree-name with the definite article is found after 'Measurement made in . . .' (A) or 'Region of . . .' and is followed by some place-name introduced with or without some point of the compass, it seems likely that this was the Ramesside way of referring to a plantation or clump of the said trees. So too we say 'in the corn' or 'in the clover'.

Another novelty of the same kind is the masculine word  $\text{𓆘} \text{𓆙} \text{𓆚}$  *mšrw* A 58, 27; 59, 8; 72, 25; 73, 41; 74, 22; B 17, 8. 28; 20, 5, preceded in all these places by the article and followed by the epithet 'north of Spermeru'. In B, which always substitutes the town determinative  $\text{𓆛}$  for that of the plant  $\text{𓆜}$ , the word is twice, or perhaps once only, used as a place-name, B 8, 12 (?); 9, 9, while in A 94, 7—not in the section mentioning Spermeru—'Suchus of the *mšrw*' stands in lieu of the name of the locality. Outside the Wilbour papyrus I have encountered only one example; this is in a papyrus fragment from Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb, where measurement of corn 'in the *mšrw*' is spoken of, and where the determinatives are  $\text{𓆛} \text{𓆜}$  as though some damp or waterlogged place were meant.<sup>2</sup> This word *mšrw* resembles a well-known expression for 'afternoon' or 'early evening' and indeed in B 17, 8. 28 has the night determinatives  $\text{𓆛} \text{𓆜}$ , but that possible etymology provides no apparent clue to the meaning. A word having the same determinative as *mšrw* in Text A is  $\text{𓆘} \text{𓆙} \text{𓆚}$  A 78, 47; it is possibly the same word as was known already from the medical literature, see *Wb.* IV, 19, 12–13.

To come now to three words of greater generality, the first  $\text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝}$  *št* has been mentioned already in a footnote;<sup>3</sup> it occurs in two place-names, Nos. 135. 136 of Table II, and probably means land overgrown with scrub or brushwood; perhaps we may render as 'copse'. In B 7, 1; 15, 2  $\text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝}$  *Pt-št* 'the Meadow' seems to be the name of a village; in A 79, 43; 94, 18; 95, 24 the same word is found in the context 'Measurement made in meadow-land south of the temple of Suchus' (of Anasha), but here the use without the definite article seems strange, and I am not sure my translation is correct.  $\text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝}$  *td htd*, though not quite restricted to 'the *htd* north of Spermeru' (A 61, 42; 64, 13; B 16, 23), in the only other certain example (A 73, 31) merely substitutes the words 'this place' for Spermeru; in the place-name  $\text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝}$  *td htd* 'the New Land of the *htd*' (B 12, 6. 7; 25, 16) we ought probably to recognize the same word, but it is strange it should be written in a different way. The Berlin Dictionary is unacquainted with any such word, but I think it must mean 'a clearing', since in a passage already cited<sup>4</sup> the causative *šhtd* is used of 'clearing away' trees encumbering certain fields.

I turn now to terms referring to the works of man. A considerable number of localities have names compounded with  $\text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝}$  *td whyt*, which I have rendered 'the Village'; in the two texts more than thirty such places can be counted. The second element in a few of them is a personal name, e.g. 'the Village of Amenmosē' B 20, 16, and one of the places so designated, namely  $\text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝}$  *td whyt* 'The Village of Nesh(i)', B 9, 22. 24, may conceivably be the selfsame property that gave rise to an important civil lawsuit in

<sup>1</sup> In the absence of evidence *Wb.* I, 173, 2 was justified in assuming the word's identity with the feminine *rcwt* meaning the wood of this tree or staves made therefrom.

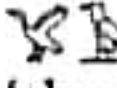
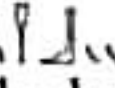
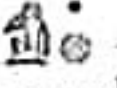
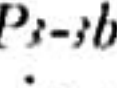
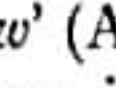
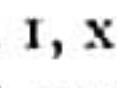
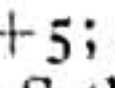
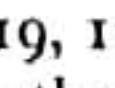
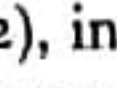


<sup>2</sup> See my *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 32, l. 14.

<sup>3</sup> p. 29, n. 1. The rendering *Baumpflanzung* in *Wb.* IV, 555, 9

hardly suits the examples in the Will of Ewerot, where the word seems contrasted with *nt*, i.e. doubtless 'clear of scrub'; also the Greek equivalent of the rare Fayyūmic equivalent *αἴρος* is *δρυμός*.

<sup>4</sup> p. 26, n. 4; the Berlin Dictionary has overlooked the meaning in question.



the reign of Ramesses II.<sup>1</sup> The name of 'The Village of Sinuhe' (A 79, 17; 87, 31; 97, 32) may possibly commemorate the hero of a famous Egyptian story. Three villages, those of 'the Soldiers' (A 35, 45; 36, 12), '(the) Army' (B 11, 6; 17, 10) and '(the) Medjay' (B 8, 27), perhaps hint that men of these military or semi-military classes had once been settlers there. One or two place-names compounded in this fashion have as second element a word of outlandish appearance, possibly a foreign word incomprehensible to the majority of contemporaries; such are 'Irkak' (Table II, No. 50) and 'Djasati' (Table II, No. 58), the former recalling several Nubian localities. In two cases allusion is made to the epithet of the local god; this is clearly true of 'The Village of Tjayef', see the Synopsis of Text A, § 97, and below, p. 36, top; secondly, there is 'the Village of              



meaning, as a few random examples will show: 'of her Heart' (A 41, 10), 'of Her to whom one calls' (A 94, 16), 'Beautiful of Hair' (A 92, 33), 'of the Tomb' (A 47, 1-2); for others see the Table.

Single houses or buildings served the surveyors as means of indicating the position of fields no less than villages. The common Late Egyptian word for 'house'  $\overline{\text{h}}\text{t}$  is thus found in both the singular and the plural, see the examples in Table II (Nos. 32-9), most of which contain a personal name. Another word for 'house' which serves as a frequent formative of place-names is  $\text{pr}$ , by this time pronounced *pi*, and that word I have not translated in Table II (Nos. 70-80), since it is more ancient than  $\overline{\text{h}}\text{t}$ , and there is a good possibility that the building which gave rise to the name, if such a building there ever were, was in ruins or had disappeared by the reign of Ramesses V, so that by this time the formative would have become merely a meaningless part of the name.<sup>1</sup> A more imposing kind of residence is indicated by the word  $\text{bhn}$ , which I have rendered as 'castle', see Table II, Nos. 66-8, and for two or three more examples out of some twenty in all note 'The Castle of Pkatja' (A 41, 32), 'of Hotpe' (in No. 62 of the Table) and 'of the Vizier' (A 9, 19; B 16, 19). The passage in the Lansing papyrus will be recalled<sup>2</sup> where the pupil, in a bold flight of rhetoric, promises to build a 'castle' (*bhn*) for the teacher, and the following passage<sup>3</sup> in which is described the castle which Ra'ia built for himself. Both passages allude to the granaries and cow-houses which belonged to these fine provincial mansions, which one must think of as of several stories, and as elaborately adorned. From the Wilbour we catch a glimpse of high Ramesside officials as country gentlemen, though we have no evidence that any of those referred to in the place-names was still living, nor yet indeed any evidence to the contrary. The sole argument we can produce for the former alternative is 'The Castle of the Vizier' (see above), since, if the Vizier in question were no longer alive, one might have expected his name to be mentioned, as in the heading of § 10 in Text A. In a few cases where the genitive following *bhn* is not a personal name, but that of a deity or locality (Pi-Usiri, B 25, 6; Pi-Khasē, B 16, 13; damaged, B 16, 15), the meaning may not be quite the same. When the word is preceded by the plural article and followed by the name of a temple—the only case is No. 69 of Table II—we may rest assured that 'pylons', not 'castles', is the right translation.

Landmarks of a similar kind were provided by cow-stables ( $\text{h} \overline{\text{h}} \text{t}$ ), granaries ( $\text{h} \overline{\text{h}} \text{t}$ ), tombs ( $\text{h} \overline{\text{h}} \text{t}$ ), and temples ( $\text{h} \overline{\text{h}} \text{t}$ ,  $\text{h} \overline{\text{h}} \text{t}$ ). All these are illustrated in the Table of Localities below and only a few comments and a little additional evidence are necessary. The temples thus mentioned are few in number, probably because they were situated in the towns or villages, and these latter were named as the means of orientation in preference. Besides the temples of Suchus and Seth (Table II, Nos. 107, 108) and that of Ramesses IV presumably at or near Anasha (No. 109), Text B (14, 4; 19, 16; 23, 10; 24, 22) mentions one of a Royal personage whose name ( $\text{Nfr}$  . . . it does not trouble to write in full; this suggests Queen Ahmosē-Nofretiri of the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty rather than the wife of Ramesses II, and that view receives some confirmation from the Amiens papyrus which I have recently published.<sup>4</sup> It is curious that not even with the word for 'tomb' is the following genitive always the name of a person. In two or perhaps three of the six or seven cases where  $\text{h} \overline{\text{h}} \text{t}$  is found the following genitive does name a person: 'of Iia', A 20, 41; and probably also B 25, 24; 'of Pyia', B 9, 25; just possibly too 'of Rofo', if that be the right interpretation of the name, see Table II, No. 117. In one instance the genitive is certainly a place-name ('of Iukak', A 12, 27, possibly identical with 'of Irkak', B 18, 15), and it may be so in one other, 'of Per-nūte', see Table II, No. 116. Once the genitive is the name of the goddess Sachmis, see B 9, 2. It seems likely that in the cases where the element following *h* is not a personal name, that word may be used collectively for 'tombs' or 'necropolis'.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, after the words for 'cow-stable' (rendered 'byre' in the Table) and 'granary' the identifying adjunct is not always a personal name. In some cases it is or may be, thus 'The Byre of Yeb' (A 70, 40),

<sup>1</sup> The cartouche-end in the writing of Pi-khaft in A 29, 11 (see Table II, No. 80), though not present in the two other references (A 37, 9; B 17, 9), can be due only to some confusion with the name of King Kheops. If this confusion was not a purely exceptional and momentary one, may we not have here—since *khaft* means 'enemy'—a reflection of the tradition accord-

ing to which Kheops was a cruel, impious tyrant (*Hdt.*, II, 124-5)?

<sup>2</sup> See my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 109, Section 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 110, Section 10.

<sup>4</sup> Rt. 5, 10, shown by its position to belong to the beginning of Dyn. XVIII; see *JEA*, xxvii, 41, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> For this use at Thebes see my note, *op. cit.*, xxii, 186, n. 10.



'of Pwah' (B 8, 17; 13, 21), 'of Son' or 'Shen' (Table II, No. 27), 'The Granary of Karoia' (A 69, 2), 'of Tkaiay' (A 66, 2); in two examples it is a divine name, 'The Byre of Horus' (A 26, 34), 'The Granary of Prēc' (B 19, 3); in others it is an adjective 'The Great Byre' (A 17, 19; B 20, 31; 21, 17), a common noun 'The Granary of Reeds' (Table II, No. 134), or a personal name as abbreviation for the name of a village (Table II, No. 133). There are no more than eight separate byres mentioned, and only five separate granaries. It is remarkable that, in view of the frequency of the title 'stable-master' in Text A, stables for horses should not provide similar place-names, but all we actually find is the twofold occurrence of  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$  'the (horse-)stable' used as a place-name without qualification (3, x+6; 61, 21); since these mentions are found in two distinct sections which, as we shall see, do not ever contain the same place, two separate stables must be meant, or at all events two different places bearing that name.

Only two more words remain to be discussed. One of them, though occurring in the two expressions 'The Shelter of Sakō' (Table II, No. 29) and 'The Shelter south of Sakō' (A 83, 14), probably refers to one single place. The word  $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$  is recorded in the Berlin Dictionary (I, 132, 2-8) only with the meanings 'chair', 'throne' and 'base' of a stela or statue; but though at least the first of these is well authenticated, I think that here and possibly elsewhere some such extended meaning as 'shelter' may be nearer the mark.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, there are seven places the names of which are introduced by the words  $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$   $p: sg(r) n$  with the variants  $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$ , B 14, 24,  $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$  B 16, 16; 20, 13;  $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔}$  A 28, 6; 40, 21. One of these places (B 23, 15) occurs as a site in the Heracleopolite nome in the Cairo inscription *Journ. d'entrée* 39410, published in *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 823, where it receives the spelling  $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$ . This spelling would prove, if indeed proof were necessary, that the formative word here is identical with a word for 'fortress', 'keep' written  $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$  in *P. Anastasi V*, 19, 7. The seven 'keeps' or 'fortresses' of the Wilbour papyrus are: 'The Keep of 'Aru',<sup>2</sup> e.g. B 14, 24; 16, 16; that 'of Wadjmosē', A 33, 35; 37, 11; that 'of . . . ru(?)na', B 15, 26; that 'of Sha', A 28, 6; that 'of Tent-nē', A 37, 19; B 16, 26; besides the 'Keep of Haty' mentioned above and another at 'Onayna which occurs once (A 40, 22) in the indications of places of measurement, but is found also in the paragraph-headings A, §§ 85, 101 and 155; B § 47.

It must suffice to have discussed some terms helping to evoke the Egyptian landscape of those distant days. Further inquiry into the place-names mentioned in the measurement lines must be left to the future. That the etymology of many of them should have been obscure even to the people who used them is natural enough. Obscurity of this kind is evidenced by the interchange of  $\text{𓆑}$  and  $\text{𓆒}$ <sup>3</sup> in the writing of P-Wadjoi (see p. 54, n. 2 below), by the spellings in which the town of Oxyrhynchus has been surmised (Table II, Nos. 95, 95 A), by the name Mi-Khenu (*ibid.*, No. 94) and by other cases, though perhaps not as many as one might expect. More disquieting from the scholar's point of view are the eccentricities of spelling characteristic of the Ramesside scribes and the considerable variation in the form of certain names. To take the two points in turn, it is troublesome enough that the tail-end of some words should be reduced to mere dashes; in  $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$  (*ibid.*, No. 60) it is only the determinative which enables us to identify the second element as  $\text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖}$  *wdh*. But much experience of these late texts is required to feel no astonishment at the consistency with which Text A writes *brkt*, the word for 'pool', with an intrusive *b*<sup>4</sup> borrowed from the Semitic word for a 'chariot' *mrkbt*, see Table II, Nos. 62-5, while Text B with equal pertinacity omits the *r*, e.g. B 7, 26; 8, 9. 31. If, as seems likely, what Text A gives as P-My (Table II, No. 87), see below, p. 47, really conceals the Hebrew loan-word *yom* 'sea', such a distortion is truly perturbing. A typical example of variety of spelling is found in the place-name 'The Village of Irkak' (*ibid.*, No. 50), which shows its *r* only in two instances (A 56, 10; B 3, 28), omitting it in four, in one of the latter forgetting the initial *l* as well (A 59, 43), while in another (A 69, 47) it inserts a determinative  $\text{𓆑}$  not found elsewhere. In such a case we may well hesitate to decide whether several different places were meant, or only one. It is more than a mere conjecture

<sup>1</sup> For an *lsbt* used as a sleeping-place see Ostr. Cairo 49887, 4, with Černý's note *Ann. Serv.*, xxvii, 202.

<sup>2</sup> On this place see above, p. 31, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> So too in the contemporary writings of 'Alabaster-town'

near El-'Amārnah, see *JEA*, xxvii, p. 53, n. 2. The same confusion is common too in *pr hr* in place of *pr hr* 'the tomb' or 'necropolis'.

<sup>4</sup> There are nine examples with this *b*, and only four without.



to identify the Gabu of A 58, 3. 19 with the place appearing in B 5, 10 as Gawē in 49, 43 is the same village, see below, and we have good reason for believing that Gawē in 49, 43 is the same village, see below, p. 99. A similar discrepancy between the forms used by A and by B will be found under Nos. 14. 75. 140 of Table II, and within Text A the names given *ibid.*, Nos. 53-4 may or may not designate one single place. Two place-names of the Wilbour found only in the paragraph-headings are relevant to the present topic. In A 39, 29; 64, 32 we find a place called 'The Village of Tjayef', where there was a cult of Amūn bearing the same epithet Tjayef; the final *f* is nearly certain in Text A, but Text B (23, 31. 32) gives the epithet as Tjayna. Which is correct, Amūn Tjayef or Amūn Tjayna? Or were both forms in current use at the same time? Lastly, Text B renders the well-known town of Ḥardai by a writing that can hardly be read otherwise than as Ḥarsperu. This most astonishing of all variations will be discussed later.

### 5. The places of measurement: B, the localities themselves

The crowning task of the student of ancient geography is to locate the places he finds named in his sources, and where no help is obtainable from tradition, from inscriptions on the site, or from physical features, the difficulties are apt to be insurmountable. The vast majority of place-names in the Wilbour papyrus are unknown elsewhere, and my attempts to discover the corresponding localities by the usual methods have been singularly unsuccessful. One might have expected to find some of them mentioned in the important Cairo inscription of Shoshenḳ I recently republished by P. Tresson,<sup>1</sup> this referring to nearly thirty towns and villages in the Heracleopolite nome; in point of fact the inscription and the papyrus have not half a dozen place-names in common.<sup>2</sup> Is this because the names of places were very ephemeral? Such is not the general experience in other countries, and one would be surprised to find it contradicted in Egypt. The collection of Fayyūm place-names made by Grenfell and Hunt in *Tebtunis II* has yielded nothing, and study of the modern atlas has proved equally unproductive. Must then the problem be abandoned as hopeless?

To this question the answer is that, impossible as it may prove to identify more than a tiny fraction of the places named, something at least can be done in the way of circumscribing the regions in which they are to be sought. For that purpose, however, we must not confine ourselves to the places mentioned in the lines of measurement, but must utilize as testimony not only the paragraph-headings, but also Text B. That nevertheless we have done wisely to keep the topographical names in the paragraph-headings severely apart from those in the lines of measurement is evident from the following considerations. It is clear that the fields measured in a brief space of twenty days by one and the same body of surveyors cannot have extended over a very wide area, while there is reason to think that, if the names were reshuffled and arranged in their proper order, they would present a continuous series without yawning gaps. These propositions are not equally true, however, of the places named in the paragraph-headings, since in theory there is nothing to prevent some of the fields measured from being owned, let us say, by Seth of Tanis in the far north, or again by Khnum of Elephantine in the south.<sup>3</sup> But such possessions, though not impossible, are obviously improbable, and in fact do not occur. The northernmost land-owning institution mentioned in Text A is Na-t-ḥō (§ 77), i.e. Tell el-Yahūdīyah, and this only because it was a dependency of Heliopolis, the estates of which, like those of Memphis and Thebes, the other two capitals, were far-flung by reason of the interest taken in them by the Pharaohs.<sup>4</sup> The southernmost temple to which fields are attributed is that of Mont at Hermonthis (§ 249), but its holding amounts to no more than 30 arouras. In a general way it may be surmised

<sup>1</sup> Cairo, *Journ. d'entrée* 39410; see *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 817 ff. The place-names here found are in so far instructive as they employ much the same formatives as the Wilbour, e.g. *ih* 'byre', *bhn* 'castle'.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the two names compounded with *sgt* (*sgt*) quoted above, p. 31, n. 8 and p. 35, together with the temples of Heracleopolis itself and Su, I have noted only (l. 18), for which see *P. Wilbour*, B 22, 27 (§ 33) and (l. 22),

for which see in the papyrus B 24, 20 (§ 49, heading).

<sup>3</sup> That Khnum of Elephantine did actually possess estates in the north country is known from a passage in a Turin papyrus translated *JEA*, xxvii, 60 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The Harris papyrus, in enumerating the number of men given by Ramesses III to three of his principal Theban temples, explicitly adds the words 'in the south and the north country' (10, 3. 4. 5). What applies to the men naturally applies also to the land on which they lived.



that the geographic range of a temple's estates will have been proportionate to the temple's size and importance, and it is extremely unlikely that a chapel of small size would have possessed land except in its own immediate neighbourhood. In dealing with the places named in the lines of measurement this criterion can be used with relative safety.<sup>1</sup>

If the reader will now consult Table I (above, p. 15) and Map I placed after p. 54, he will quickly realize the lessons to be learned thence. The land-owning institutions there mentioned make a jump of about 60 kilometres from Hermonthis to Coptus, and then another of over 100 to Abydos. From Abydos to Hermopolis, the next field-owning place farther north, is more than twice the latter distance, but still farther northwards the field-owning temples crowd closer and closer together until beyond the level of Crocodilopolis.<sup>2</sup> This evidence alone would suffice to fix the limits of the survey between Hermopolis in the south and a point somewhere beyond Crocodilopolis in the north, but many considerations, as we shall see later (pp. 53-4), impel us to seek the southern boundary some 60 kilometres downstream from the former place. NB

The way in which the data of the paragraph-headings can be combined with those in the lines of measurement to elicit plausible conclusions may be illustrated by one or two examples. The temple of Amūn, lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, in the Backland (§ 30), appears both from its position among the smaller temples of Section I, and from its place in *Harris*, 61, b, 16 to have lain pretty far to the north, possibly only a little south of the level of Aṭfih (*Harris*, 61, b, 17); on the other hand, it is likely to have been a small temple, whose fields lay in its immediate vicinity. Consequently, the locality called 'the New Land of Swo', mentioned nowhere but in the paragraph devoted to that temple, has its whereabouts fixed with considerable probability. Similarly, 'the Lake of Hesmen-yeb' (A 34, 48; 39, 30; B 15, 1; 23, 33) was evidently, on the testimony of the second and fourth of these passages, situated at no great distance from the temple of Amūn Tjayef in the Village of Tjayef.

I turn now to certain observations that will be found to involve far-reaching consequences. On referring once more to Table I, it will be seen that, so far as the local temples are concerned, Section I concentrates its attention mainly on the northern part of the Heracleopolite nome and the Fayyūm, while Section IV no less obviously looks southwards from Sakō, in the neighbourhood of Hardai (Cynopolis). This suggested the possibility that each of the four periods or sections of the surveyors' work covered mutually exclusive ground, and to test this possibility Table II has been constructed. Here have been entered all place-names which the lines of measurement show as occurring in more than one column of Text A; it seemed that to include places named only once, or more than once though only in a single column, could but impede the demonstrative effectiveness of the Table, while adding greatly to its bulk. The columns in which a given place is found are indicated by small black crosses, which, with some exceptions to be explained below, are joined by lines to show the range of that place. It will be realized, of course, that the crosses, though displaying the order of occurrence in Text A, can impose conclusions concerning topographical position only in so far as the sections are found to be mutually exclusive in regard to the places contained in them. If that exclusiveness be proved, then it will have to be acknowledged that the survey covered four separate topographical zones, each zone being dealt with by its own particular section, and having been visited by the surveyors in its own short span of days.

On the whole, Table II has yielded eminently satisfactory results. It contains 142 place-names in all, and among these 129 are completely restricted to their own particular section, a considerable number recurring therein many times over. This proportion clearly warrants the generalization that each section deals with a different topographical zone, though the obligation to explain the thirteen exceptions cannot be evaded. Of the latter only four skip an entire section and appear in sections that are not contiguous. In all four cases we have to do either with general expressions or with names that obviously are, or easily might be, applied to more than one place. No. 142, *p' dr imnty* 'the Western Flank' appears as a genitive describing one village in Section I (19, 22; 21, 5) and another in Section IV

<sup>1</sup> This proposition is tested with regard to Sakō and Spermeru below on p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> For the distances see my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Pls. 26-7, together with the Commentary thereon.



(88, 8), while it is similarly used of two further places in B 19, 20; 22, 28; it is probably a designation of the margin of the Western desert. The interesting phrase *mw-bš* (No. 88) is shown by a Twelfth Dynasty inscription at Aswān<sup>1</sup> to have originally had the form  $\overline{\text{mw}}\text{-}\overline{\text{bš}}$  (var.  $\overline{\text{mw}}\text{-}\overline{\text{bš}}$ ) 'rebellious' or 'turbulent water';<sup>2</sup> there apparently used in a metaphorical sense of relations with the Nubians, it makes a but thinly veiled allusion to the neighbouring cataract, and we may guess that the phrase became a term for any 'rapid'; in Section II (36, 16. 31) it is accompanied by lacunae obscuring the reference; in Section IV we have in one place (76, 38; so too B 5, 25) 'in the island which is at the mouth of (the) Rapid' and in the other (100, 10) 'in the riparian land (*ldb*) which is at the mouth of (the) Rapid', though there is the possibility that the entire expression *r n mw bš(t)* was felt as a proper name. *P-ih* 'the Stable' (No. 28), occurring in Sections I and III, is obviously a name that might have recurred in many places; I have even expressed astonishment above (p. 35) that this is not used frequently as a topographical formative. Lastly, we have to consider the temple of Suchus (No. 107), together with which we may take that of Seth (No. 108), though the latter is found in adjacent sections. The Suchus meant in Section I is doubtless the god of Crocodilopolis, § 12, cf. also B 21, 5, possibly also B 15, 9, unless, as is more likely, the deity of Mi-wēr was intended in the last-named reference; in Section IV the Suchus intended is the lord of Anasha (§ 254). Similarly, the Seth whose temple is named as a topographical point of reference in Section II is obviously he of Pi-Wayna (§ 99), while in Section III he is the god of Spermeru (§ 163).

As exceptions to the rule that places in the lines of measurement are confined to their own section, we are now left with only eight names, Nos. 36 and 75 occurring in both I and II, Nos. 14. 15. 21. 124 in both II and III, and Nos. 30. 92 in both III and IV. In these cases we need not resort to the hypothesis of homonymity, though the opportunity may be taken to make some remarks on that subject. In England it is quite usual to find the same name for different places, and so far as Egypt is concerned, Grenfell and Hunt have mentioned a number of identically named villages in the Fayyūm. The likelihood of such homonyms naturally varies with the degree of outlandishness or the complexity of the name, and it is not to be supposed that Pen-Ikarya (No. 30, see above) would occur twice as a place-name in a comparatively restricted area. In other documents I have recently encountered a few place-names that are identical with names occurring in the Wilbour papyrus, and yet cannot possibly refer to the same places. Apparently there was an Ian-Mūt (Table II, No. 23) in the Antaeopolite nome, and still more remarkably, also another Island of Amūn Overrunning-his-Boundary (Table II, No. 19); both names occur in the Amiens papyrus, and beyond all doubt they are there to be assigned to the said Xth Upper Egyptian nome.<sup>3</sup> Then again a British Museum papyrus<sup>4</sup> of the reign of Ramesses II mentions a Mound of Naḥiḥu and the same name occurs in the Wilbour papyrus (Table II, No. 6); the former is explicitly stated to have been near Nefrusi in the Hermopolite nome (XV), a situation quite impossible for the latter; here, however, the existence of two different but similarly named places is made comprehensible by the fact that Naḥiḥu was a fairly frequent personal name in the Ramesside period. For the same reason, it is theoretically possible that the House of Ptahmosē common to Sections I and II (No. 36 in Table II) might refer to two different localities, and so too the Opē common to Sections II and III (No. 21), that name being very familiar to Egyptologists owing to its Theban homonym.

Nevertheless the eight place-names occurring each in two adjacent sections mutually assist one another in their claim to belong to only eight different places. It will even be possible to base upon these overlaps an argument that the four sections I, II, III and IV correspond to four zones succeeding one another in that order from north to south, though with some reservations as regards the area covered by Section II. We have already found reason for believing that the places in Section I lay in the Fayyūm and Heracleopolite regions, while Section IV may start in the neighbourhood of Sakō and proceed southwards. Elaborating this argument, we might assume that the eight places in question were near the point of junction of consecutive zones, so that they could be suitably used for the orienta-

<sup>1</sup> ZAS, XLV, Pl. 6, l. 6; Pl. 7, l. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The determinative  $\overline{\text{bš}}$  in 100, 10 is falsely borrowed from the word for *bš*-grain.

<sup>3</sup> See JEA, XXVII, 45, n. 4. In the Wilbour papyrus the Island

of Amūn Overrunning-his-Boundary is stated in A 23, 37-8 to have been east of the Village of Inroyshes (Table II, No. 49), the latter a place often mentioned in Section II.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., XXVII, 59, n. 5.



tion of fields in either zone.<sup>1</sup> But in that case confirmation might be expected in the points of the compass used. For example, the mention of Pen-Ikaryia in Section III (54, 26) might be expected to name a spot north of that village, and the mention in Section IV (95, 11) to name a spot south of it; in point of fact both mentions indicate the north—north-east in the first case, north-west in the second. Nor has greater success been obtained with the seven other place-names, so that the hypothesis that the places corresponding to them lay on the borderline between sections receives no support from this source, though it will be found to do so from others.

To discover the exact boundaries of the zones is not easy in Sections I and IV, and difficult in Sections II and III. At this point we must examine some evidence contained in the paragraph-headings which will prove disappointing for this particular purpose, though of great interest in another way. It was mentioned above (p. 25, top) that certain paragraphs whose headings start with the words  $\overline{\text{rmny}} \cdot \text{w}$  'Apportioning domain of this house (in) ...'<sup>2</sup> conclude with a topographical expression  $\overline{\text{w}} \cdot \text{w}$  evidently indicating an administrative centre. Text A mentions only three such administrative centres, which are as follows:

- I.  $\overline{\text{rmny}} \cdot \text{w} \cdot \text{w}$   $\text{t} \cdot \text{h} \cdot \text{t}$  Hr-dy 'the Tract of Hardai',<sup>3</sup> found in Section II (§§ 54. 59. 68. 69. 76. 80), Section III (§§ 118. 123. 134. 138. 145. 147. 150), and Section IV (§§ 211. 218. 228. 231. 236). In the double book-keeping *pōsh*-entries of Type A corresponding to entries in any of the above-mentioned paragraphs<sup>4</sup> the designation  $\text{t} \cdot \text{h} \cdot \text{t}$  Hr-dy is always shortened to  $(\overline{\text{rmny}}) \cdot \text{w}$  (rmnyt) Hr-dy '(domain of) Hardai'.<sup>5</sup> Hardai is Cynopolis, the metropolis of the XVIIth Upper Egyptian nome; its exact location will be discussed farther on (pp. 50 ff.).
- II.  $\overline{\text{rmny}} \cdot \text{w} \cdot \text{w}$   $\text{p} \cdot \text{w}$  Nn-nsw 'the Nome of Ninsu', found once in Section II (§ 55) and once in Section III (§ 119). It also occurred, however, in the headings of at least four paragraphs of Section I now lost, as is proved by the abbreviation  $(\overline{\text{rmny}}) \cdot \text{w}$  (rmnyt)  $\text{p} \cdot \text{w}$  '(domain of) the Nome' found in many *pōsh*-entries of Type A.<sup>6</sup> Ninsu—the vocalization is borrowed from the Assyrian Hīninši, where Hī- represents the element  $\overline{\text{hwt}}$  in late times prefixed to the name<sup>7</sup>—is Heracleopolis Magna, the Arabic Ahnās, now called Ihnāsyah el-Medīnah, the metropolis of the XXth Upper Egyptian nome.
- III.  $\overline{\text{rmny}} \cdot \text{w} \cdot \text{w}$   $\text{t} \cdot \text{w} \cdot \text{t}$  imnt(t) Tpt-lhw 'the West Side of Tpēhu', found in a paragraph sub-heading of Section III (§ 144). There can be but little doubt, however, that it occurred also in a lost paragraph sub-heading of Section I, since the abbreviation  $(\overline{\text{rmny}}) \cdot \text{w}$  (rmnyt)  $\text{t} \cdot \text{w} \cdot \text{t}$  imntt '(domain of) the West Side' in several *pōsh*-entries must refer to this administrative district.<sup>8</sup> Tpēhu is Aphroditopolis, in Coptic τπηϋ, the modern Aṭfīh, the metropolis of the XXIInd nome of Upper Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> It must be clearly understood that the exact position given to a name within its section in the Table is of no topographical importance whatever, the fields having been named in an order dictated by the land-owning institutions to which they belong, and not by any topographical considerations. Thus from the fact that the name Tay-ankhē occurs in col. 78 and Ab'ab in col. 74 it follows with great probability that Tay-ankhē was farther south than Ab'ab, because the names occur in different sections; but the fact that Meki occurs in col. 97 and Khami in col. 79 proves nothing for the relative positions, since the two columns are in the same section.

<sup>2</sup> The preposition *m* 'in' is in this case usually omitted, but is found before I below in §§ 69. 76.

<sup>3</sup> The entire phrase is found once again among damaged titles on the late statue Cairo 884, published in Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, III, 136.

<sup>4</sup> See on this topic above, p. 10, with n. 1, and below, pp. 57, 72 f.





























<sup>5</sup> Corresponding passages which prove this point are very numerous; it will suffice to quote 34, 14 = 26, 7 (§ 59, see heading); 49, 34 = 55, 33 (§ 145, see sub-heading); 74, 33 = 57, 13 (§ 145, see sub-heading).

<sup>6</sup> Corresponding passages proving the abbreviation are: 34, 7 = 24, 21-2 (§ 55, see heading); 39, 35 = 25, 5-6 (§ 55, see heading together with that of § 51); there are also others. The temples with paragraphs in Section I mentioning this administrative centre must have been Medīnet Habu, see 19, 24; 20, 30; Ramesseum, see 16, 44; temple of Rameses V, see 9, 21; 11, 49; 13, 27; also presumably Karnak, see 15, 42.

<sup>7</sup> See Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material*, 29, in *Abh. d. kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1910; he quotes Griffith, *Rylands Papyri*, III, 220, n. 14. For many examples with prefixed *hwt* see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, IV, 83.

<sup>8</sup> The *pōsh*-entries in question are 17, 6; 18, 36; 20, 8. (11). 15; they all contain the extreme abbreviation  $\overline{\text{w}} \cdot \text{w}$  for the temple; the correspondence of 101, 6 with 85, 34-5 (see the heading of § 236) might seem to prove that this refers to the Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Rē', but I prefer to suppose that the entries in Section I refer to the great temple of Rē'-Harakhti, see the heading and sub-heading of § 144. In its Memphite section Harris, 51, a, 5 speaks of a 'House of Usima'rē'-miamūn, the town  $\overline{\text{w}} \cdot \text{w}$  on the West Side'; it does not seem certain that the phrase is there used in the special sense here discussed.



That the three expressions<sup>1</sup> above enumerated are somehow connected with the traditional division of the country into 'nomes' (νομοί) or 'provinces' is obvious. Two of the three names, namely Ninsu-Heracleopolis and Tpēhu-Aphroditopolis, are known alike from the hieroglyphic nome-lists of Ptolemaic date and from the Greek lists to have been the capitals of their respective nomos. There is rather more difficulty about Hardai-Cynopolis, since the Edfu nome-lists do not give that town as the metropolis, but either  H-nesu, i.e. El-Kōm el-Aḥmar Sawāris near Shārūnah,<sup>2</sup> or  Sakō, i.e. El-Kēs a little south of Beni Mazār.<sup>3</sup> Still, not only had Hardai a prescriptive right to be the capital of the XVIIth Dog nome () since Anubis was its deity, while H-nesu and Sakō had respectively Horus and Bata as their gods, but also Kees has shown that already in the Nineteenth Dynasty the feminine noun                           

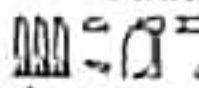



might, accordingly, all belong to the Sekh-en-W'ab-yeb, and this, on evidence quoted in the footnote,<sup>1</sup> might conceivably be the name of the 'territory' of the Aphroditopolite nome, though only on condition that the territory in question extended a very long way south of its capital. The place-name seems, however, to have belonged to a quite restricted area, since it is used a number of times (see Table II, No. 123) to locate particular fields. For that reason all thought of its connexion with the Aphroditopolite nome must, I think, be abandoned. The meaning to be attributed to it in § 52 remains problematic, but at least proof can be given that its appearance there cannot be used as an argument in favour of the topographical, rather than the administrative, intention of the three supposed nome-centres. The line of measurement 27, 33, naming Sekh-en-W'ab-yeb, occurs in a paragraph (§ 59) with 'The Tract of Hardai' in the heading, but 25, 13 falls within a paragraph (§ 56) subsumed under another (§ 55) mentioning 'the Nome of Ninsu'. Clearly Sekh-en-W'ab-yeb cannot have been situated topographically at once in the Cynopolite and in the Heracleopolitan nome.

From the preceding argument it follows that we cannot with any confidence use the three administrative centres to determine the limits of the zones covered by the four sections. On the other hand, it is clear that a nome-administration would be unlikely to exert influence at any very great distance from the seat of its labours, and it agrees with the conception already reached that the administration connected with the Aphroditopolite nome is not mentioned in Section IV, the southernmost, nor is that of the Cynopolite nome mentioned in Section I, that concerned with Heracleopolis and the Fayyūm.

Thus, in order to discover the limits of the regions covered by the four sections, we are thrown back upon (1) the places named in the lines of measurement, and (2) the local temples named in the paragraph-headings; though (3) certain evidence from Text B will have to be taken into account.<sup>2</sup> For all we can see, Section I was confined to the West bank. The importance conceded in it to Heracleopolis and certain Fayyūm cities shows where its centre is to be sought. The paragraph (§ 30) devoted to the House of Amūn, lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, in the Backland, has been seen (p. 37) probably to fix the northern limit somewhere a little above the level of Aṭfiḥ. We shall find later, in dealing with Text B, that there is some reason for thinking that the northernmost places in Section I lay within, or just on the eastern, fringe of the Fayyūm. It would be a little puzzling if the ancient temple of Seth of Su, mentioned in Text B (24, 29), turned out to have no lands in Section I, since according to the Harris papyrus (61, b, 15) it lay between the House of Amūn of the Backland and Crocodilopolis. It will be suggested below, p. 42, however, that §§ 28-9 most probably refer to this town, and not to Spermeru, which is the alternative possibility. As regards the southern limit, Heracleopolis (§ 4) follows immediately upon the Memphite temples, i.e. as the first of the series of smaller ones, and if Section I mentions any locality farther south, we are not in a position to affirm it. So far as I can see, the lines of measurement name in Section I no places known with certainty from external sources except Mound of (En)ḥeḥ (Table II, No. 9), which is found on the Naples stela,<sup>3</sup> and The Lake's Beginning (No. 47), which is mentioned as near El-Lāhūn in the great inscription of Piankhi (l. 77). The suggestion that No. 87 may provide the prototype of the name Fayyūm is better worth considering than might at first appear. Another suggestion with regard to The Tomb of Per-nūte (No. 116) is more doubtful; there is a place Perpnoute mentioned once in a Coptic manuscript written at Tebtunis.<sup>4</sup>

To turn now to Section II, and utilizing all the evidence at our command, we seem justified in concluding that it represents a zone of country of which part at least lay to the south of the zone covered by Section I and immediately to the north of the zone covered by Section III; while Section III embraces country immediately to the north of that of Section IV. The argument centres around Spermeru, evidently a town of considerable importance and, to judge from its name, in close proximity

<sup>1</sup> Gauthier, *op. cit.*, v, 52 quotes references to show that  Sekh-w'abe is given in Graeco-Roman nome-lists as the name of the territory (tw) of the Aphroditopolite nome. The presence of  yeb in the name as given by the Wilbour papyrus would in any case render the equation uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> A little more information might perhaps have been wrung

from Text B, but the material there is even more difficult to use, and I have not wished to embark on its full discussion here.

<sup>3</sup> Sethe, *Urk.*, II, 2. 6; *Bull. Inst. fr. d'Arch. or.*, xxx, 372, 380, 382.

<sup>4</sup> Grenfell and Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri*, II, p. 395.



to the desert.<sup>1</sup> In the Edfu nome-lists Spermeru<sup>2</sup> appears as the capital of the nome of  $\frac{111}{\text{mlw}}$ , the XIXth of Upper Egypt, which Brugsch equated with that later known as the Oxyrhynchite—the equation is problematic and unproven, and ought not to be allowed to influence us in any way. Though this town is not mentioned before late Ramesside times, the fact that it had Seth as its god, like the nome itself,<sup>3</sup> suggests that it may have been the original capital. Could we but know where the recently published Adoption papyrus<sup>4</sup> was found, this would probably settle the question of the site. Daressy's identification<sup>5</sup> with Deshāshah, 14 km. south-west of Heracleopolis, is a pure guess, but has at least the justification that both in the Harris papyrus and in the Golénischeff Onomasticon Spermeru immediately precedes Ninsu-Heracleopolis. However, a position farther south seems possible, since Spermeru, as we shall see, belongs essentially to Section III, and the two documents just quoted might equally well be used to prove that it lay at no great distance from Cynopolis.<sup>6</sup> If Spermeru was really the most ancient capital of the XIXth nome, it seems extremely improbable that it should be sought as far south as  $\square \text{ 𓆎 𓆏 𓆐 𓆑 𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖 𓆗 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛 𓆜 𓆝 𓆞 𓆟 𓆠 𓆡 𓆢 𓆣 𓆤 𓆥 𓆦 𓆧 𓆨 𓆩 𓆪 𓆫 𓆬 𓆭 𓆮 𓆯 𓆰 𓆱 𓆲 𓆳 𓆴 𓆵 𓆶 𓆷 𓆸 𓆹 𓆺 𓆻 𓆼 𓆽 𓆾 𓆿 𓇀 𓇁 𓇂 𓇃 𓇄 𓇅 𓇆 𓇇 𓇈 𓇉 𓇊 𓇋 𓇌 𓇍 𓇎 𓇏 𓇐 𓇑 𓇒 𓇓 𓇔 𓇕 𓇖 𓇗 𓇘 𓇙 𓇚 𓇛 𓇜 𓇝 𓇞 𓇟 𓇠 𓇡 𓇢 𓇣 𓇤 𓇥 𓇦 𓇧 𓇨 𓇩 𓇪 𓇫 𓇬 𓇭 𓇮 𓇯 𓇰 𓇱 𓇲 𓇳 𓇴 𓇵 𓇶 𓇷 𓇸 𓇹 𓇺 𓇻 𓇼 𓇽 𓇾 𓇿 𓈀 𓈁 𓈂 𓈃 𓈄 𓈅 𓈆 𓈇 𓈈 𓈉 𓈊 𓈋 𓈌 𓈍 𓈎 𓈏 𓈐 𓈑 𓈒 𓈓 𓈔 𓈕 𓈖 𓈗 𓈘 𓈙 𓈚 𓈛 𓈜 𓈝 𓈞 𓈟 𓈠 𓈡 𓈢 𓈣 𓈤 𓈥 𓈦 𓈧 𓈨 𓈩 𓈪 𓈫 𓈬 𓈭 𓈮 𓈯 𓈰 𓈱 𓈲 𓈳 𓈴 𓈵 𓈶 𓈷 𓈸 𓈹 𓈺 𓈻 𓈼 𓈽 𓈾 𓈿 𓉀 𓉁 𓉂 𓉃 𓉄 𓉅 𓉆 𓉇 𓉈 𓉉 𓉊 𓉋 𓉌 𓉍 𓉎 𓉏 𓉐 𓉑 𓉒 𓉓 𓉔 𓉕 𓉖 𓉗 𓉘 𓉙 𓉚 𓉛 𓉜 𓉝 𓉞 𓉟 𓉠 𓉡 𓉢 𓉣 𓉤 𓉥 𓉦 𓉧 𓉨 𓉩 𓉪 𓉫 𓉬 𓉭 𓉮 𓉯 𓉰 𓉱 𓉲 𓉳 𓉴 𓉵 𓉶 𓉷 𓉸 𓉹 𓉺 𓉻 𓉼 𓉽 𓉾 𓉿 𓊀 𓊁 𓊂 𓊃 𓊄 𓊅 𓊆 𓊇 𓊈 𓊉 𓊊 𓊋 𓊌 𓊍 𓊎 𓊏 𓊐 𓊑 𓊒 𓊓 𓊔 𓊕 𓊖 𓊗 𓊘 𓊙 𓊚 𓊛 𓊜 𓊝 𓊞 𓊟 𓊠 𓊡 𓊢 𓊣 𓊤 𓊥 𓊦 𓊧 𓊨 𓊩 𓊪 𓊫 𓊬 𓊭 𓊮 𓊯 𓊰 𓊱 𓊲 𓊳 𓊴 𓊵 𓊶 𓊷 𓊸 𓊹 𓊺 𓊻 𓊼 𓊽 𓊾 𓊿 𓋀 𓋁 𓋂 𓋃 𓋄 𓋅 𓋆 𓋇 𓋈 𓋉 𓋊 𓋋 𓋌 𓋍 𓋎 𓋏 𓋐 𓋑 𓋒 𓋓 𓋔 𓋕 𓋖 𓋗 𓋘 𓋙 𓋚 𓋛 𓋜 𓋝 𓋞 𓋟 𓋠 𓋡 𓋢 𓋣 𓋤 𓋥 𓋦 𓋧 𓋨 𓋩 𓋪 𓋫 𓋬 𓋭 𓋮 𓋯 𓋰 𓋱 𓋲 𓋳 𓋴 𓋵 𓋶 𓋷 𓋸 𓋹 𓋺 𓋻 𓋼 𓋽 𓋾 𓋿 𓌀 𓌁 𓌂 𓌃 𓌄 𓌅 𓌆 𓌇 𓌈 𓌉 𓌊 𓌋 𓌌 𓌍 𓌎 𓌏 𓌐 𓌑 𓌒 𓌓 𓌔 𓌕 𓌖 𓌗 𓌘 𓌙 𓌚 𓌛 𓌜 𓌝 𓌞 𓌟 𓌠 𓌡 𓌢 𓌣 𓌤 𓌥 𓌦 𓌧 𓌨 𓌩 𓌪 𓌫 𓌬 𓌭 𓌮 𓌯 𓌰 𓌱 𓌲 𓌳 𓌴 𓌵 𓌶 𓌷 𓌸 𓌹 𓌺 𓌻 𓌼 𓌽 𓌾 𓌿 𓍀 𓍁 𓍂 𓍃 𓍄 𓍅 𓍆 𓍇 𓍈 𓍉 𓍊 𓍋 𓍌 𓍍 𓍎 𓍏 𓍐 𓍑 𓍒 𓍓 𓍔 𓍕 𓍖 𓍗 𓍘 𓍙 𓍚 𓍛 𓍜 𓍝 𓍞 𓍟 𓍠 𓍡 𓍢 𓍣 𓍤 𓍥 𓍦 𓍧 𓍨 𓍩 𓍪 𓍫 𓍬 𓍭 𓍮 𓍯 𓍰 𓍱 𓍲 𓍳 𓍴 𓍵 𓍶 𓍷 𓍸 𓍹 𓍺 𓍻 𓍼 𓍽 𓍾 𓍿 𓎀 𓎁 𓎂 𓎃 𓎄 𓎅 𓎆 𓎇 𓎈 𓎉 𓎊 𓎋 𓎌 𓎍 𓎎 𓎏 𓎐 𓎑 𓎒 𓎓 𓎔 𓎕 𓎖 𓎗 𓎘 𓎙 𓎚 𓎛 𓎜 𓎝 𓎞 𓎟 𓎠 𓎡 𓎢 𓎣 𓎤 𓎥 𓎦 𓎧 𓎨 𓎩 𓎪 𓎫 𓎬 𓎭 𓎮 𓎯 𓎰 𓎱 𓎲 𓎳 𓎴 𓎵 𓎶 𓎷 𓎸 𓎹 𓎺 𓎻 𓎼 𓎽 𓎾 𓎿 𓏀 𓏁 𓏂 𓏃 𓏄 𓏅 𓏆 𓏇 𓏈 𓏉 𓏊 𓏋 𓏌 𓏍 𓏎 𓏏 𓏐 𓏑 𓏒 𓏓 𓏔 𓏕 𓏖 𓏗 𓏘 𓏙 𓏚 𓏛 𓏜 𓏝 𓏞 𓏟 𓏠 𓏡 𓏢 𓏣 𓏤 𓏥 𓏦 𓏧 𓏨 𓏩 𓏪 𓏫 𓏬 𓏭 𓏮 𓏯 𓏰 𓏱 𓏲 𓏳 𓏴 𓏵 𓏶 𓏷 𓏸 𓏹 𓏺 𓏻 𓏼 𓏽 𓏾 𓏿 𓐀 𓐁 𓐂 𓐃 𓐄 𓐅 𓐆 𓐇 𓐈 𓐉 𓐊 𓐋 𓐌 𓐍 𓐎 𓐏 𓐐 𓐑 𓐒 𓐓 𓐔 𓐕 𓐖 𓐗 𓐘 𓐙 𓐚 𓐛 𓐜 𓐝 𓐞 𓐟 𓐠 𓐡 𓐢 𓐣 𓐤 𓐥 𓐦 𓐧 𓐨 𓐩 𓐪 𓐫 𓐬 𓐭 𓐮 𓐯 𓐰 𓐱 𓐲 𓐳 𓐴 𓐵 𓐶 𓐷 𓐸 𓐹 𓐺 𓐻 𓐼 𓐽 𓐾 𓐿 𓑀 𓑁 𓑂 𓑃 𓑄 𓑅 𓑆 𓑇 𓑈 𓑉 𓑊 𓑋 𓑌 𓑍 𓑎 𓑏 𓑐 𓑑 𓑒 𓑓 𓑔 𓑕 𓑖 𓑗 𓑘 𓑙 𓑚 𓑛 𓑜 𓑝 𓑞 𓑟 𓑠 𓑡 𓑢 𓑣 𓑤 𓑥 𓑦 𓑧 𓑨 𓑩 𓑪 𓑫 𓑬 𓑭 𓑮 𓑯 𓑰 𓑱 𓑲 𓑳 𓑴 𓑵 𓑶 𓑷 𓑸 𓑹 𓑺 𓑻 𓑼 𓑽 𓑾 𓑿 𓒀 𓒁 𓒂 𓒃 𓒄 𓒅 𓒆 𓒇 𓒈 𓒉 𓒊 𓒋 𓒌 𓒍 𓒎 𓒏 𓒐 𓒑 𓒒 𓒓 𓒔 𓒕 𓒖 𓒗 𓒘 𓒙 𓒚 𓒛 𓒜 𓒝 𓒞 𓒟 𓒠 𓒡 𓒢 𓒣 𓒤 𓒥 𓒦 𓒧 𓒨 𓒩 𓒪 𓒫 𓒬 𓒭 𓒮 𓒯 𓒰 𓒱 𓒲 𓒳 𓒴 𓒵 𓒶 𓒷 𓒸 𓒹 𓒺 𓒻 𓒼 𓒽 𓒾 𓒿 𓓀 𓓁 𓓂 𓓃 𓓄 𓓅 𓓆 𓓇 𓓈 𓓉 𓓊 𓓋 𓓌 𓓍 𓓎 𓓏 𓓐 𓓑 𓓒 𓓓 𓓔 𓓕 𓓖 𓓗 𓓘 𓓙 𓓚 𓓛 𓓜 𓓝 𓓞 𓓟 𓓠 𓓡 𓓢 𓓣 𓓤 𓓥 𓓦 𓓧 𓓨 𓓩 𓓪 𓓫 𓓬 𓓭 𓓮 𓓯 𓓰 𓓱 𓓲 𓓳 𓓴 𓓵 𓓶 𓓷 𓓸 𓓹 𓓺 𓓻 𓓼 𓓽 𓓾 𓓿 𓔀 𓔁 𓔂 𓔃 𓔄 𓔅 𓔆 𓔇 𓔈 𓔉 𓔊 𓔋 𓔌 𓔍 𓔎 𓔏 𓔐 𓔑 𓔒 𓔓 𓔔 𓔕 𓔖 𓔗 𓔘 𓔙 𓔚 𓔛 𓔜 𓔝 𓔞 𓔟 𓔠 𓔡 𓔢 𓔣 𓔤 𓔥 𓔦 𓔧 𓔨 𓔩 𓔪 𓔫 𓔬 𓔭 𓔮 𓔯 𓔰 𓔱 𓔲 𓔳 𓔴 𓔵 𓔶 𓔷 𓔸 𓔹 𓔺 𓔻 𓔼 𓔽 𓔾 𓔿 𓕀 𓕁 𓕂 𓕃 𓕄 𓕅 𓕆 𓕇 𓕈 𓕉 𓕊 𓕋 𓕌 𓕍 𓕎 𓕏 𓕐 𓕑 𓕒 𓕓 𓕔 𓕕 𓕖 𓕗 𓕘 𓕙 𓕚 𓕛 𓕜 𓕝 𓕞 𓕟 𓕠 𓕡 𓕢 𓕣 𓕤 𓕥 𓕦 𓕧 𓕨 𓕩 𓕪 𓕫 𓕬 𓕭 𓕮 𓕯 𓕰 𓕱 𓕲 𓕳 𓕴 𓕵 𓕶 𓕷 𓕸 𓕹 𓕺 𓕻 𓕼 𓕽 𓕾 𓕿 𓖀 𓖁 𓖂 𓖃 𓖄 𓖅 𓖆 𓖇 𓖈 𓖉 𓖊 𓖋 𓖌 𓖍 𓖎 𓖏 𓖐 𓖑 𓖒 𓖓 𓖔 𓖕 𓖖 𓖗 𓖘 𓖙 𓖚 𓖛 𓖜 𓖝 𓖞 𓖟 𓖠 𓖡 𓖢 𓖣 𓖤 𓖥 𓖦 𓖧 𓖨 𓖩 𓖪 𓖫 𓖬 𓖭 𓖮 𓖯 𓖰 𓖱 𓖲 𓖳 𓖴 𓖵 𓖶 𓖷 𓖸 𓖹 𓖺 𓖻 𓖼 𓖽 𓖾 𓖿 𓗀 𓗁 𓗂 𓗃 𓗄 𓗅 𓗆 𓗇 𓗈 𓗉 𓗊 𓗋 𓗌 𓗍 𓗎 𓗏 𓗐 𓗑 𓗒 𓗓 𓗔 𓗕 𓗖 𓗗 𓗘 𓗙 𓗚 𓗛 𓗜 𓗝 𓗞 𓗟 𓗠 𓗡 𓗢 𓗣 𓗤 𓗥 𓗦 𓗧 𓗨 𓗩 𓗪 𓗫 𓗬 𓗭 𓗮 𓗯 𓗰 𓗱 𓗲 𓗳 𓗴 𓗵 𓗶 𓗷 𓗸 𓗹 𓗺 𓗻 𓗼 𓗽 𓗾 𓗿 𓘀 𓘁 𓘂 𓘃 𓘄 𓘅 𓘆 𓘇 𓘈 𓘉 𓘊 𓘋 𓘌 𓘍 𓘎 𓘏 𓘐 𓘑 𓘒 𓘓 𓘔 𓘕 𓘖 𓘗 𓘘 𓘙 𓘚 𓘛 𓘜 𓘝 𓘞 𓘟 𓘠 𓘡 𓘢 𓘣 𓘤 𓘥 𓘦 𓘧 𓘨 𓘩 𓘪 𓘫 𓘬 𓘭 𓘮 𓘯 𓘰 𓘱 𓘲 𓘳 𓘴 𓘵 𓘶 𓘷 𓘸 𓘹 𓘺 𓘻 𓘼 𓘽 𓘾 𓘿 𓙀 𓙁 𓙂 𓙃 𓙄 𓙅 𓙆 𓙇 𓙈 𓙉 𓙊 𓙋 𓙌 𓙍 𓙎 𓙏 𓙐 𓙑 𓙒 𓙓 𓙔 𓙕 𓙖 𓙗 𓙘 𓙙 𓙚 𓙛 𓙜 𓙝 𓙞 𓙟 𓙠 𓙡 𓙢 𓙣 𓙤 𓙥 𓙦 𓙧 𓙨 𓙩 𓙪 𓙫 𓙬 𓙭 𓙮 𓙯 𓙰 𓙱 𓙲 𓙳 𓙴 𓙵 𓙶 𓙷 𓙸 𓙹 𓙺 𓙻 𓙼 𓙽 𓙾 𓙿 𓚀 𓚁 𓚂 𓚃 𓚄 𓚅 𓚆 𓚇 𓚈 𓚉 𓚊 𓚋 𓚌 𓚍 𓚎 𓚏 𓚐 𓚑 𓚒 𓚓 𓚔 𓚕 𓚖 𓚗 𓚘 𓚙 𓚚 𓚛 𓚜 𓚝 𓚞 𓚟 𓚠 𓚡 𓚢 𓚣 𓚤 𓚥 𓚦 𓚧 𓚨 𓚩 𓚪 𓚫 𓚬 𓚭 𓚮 𓚯 𓚰 𓚱 𓚲 𓚳 𓚴 𓚵 𓚶 𓚷 𓚸 𓚹 𓚺 𓚻 𓚼 𓚽 𓚾 𓚿 𓛀 𓛁 𓛂 𓛃 𓛄 𓛅 𓛆 𓛇 𓛈 𓛉 𓛊 𓛋 𓛌 𓛍 𓛎 𓛏 𓛐 𓛑 𓛒 𓛓 𓛔 𓛕 𓛖 𓛗 𓛘 𓛙 𓛚 𓛛 𓛜 𓛝 𓛞 𓛟 𓛠 𓛡 𓛢 𓛣 𓛤 𓛥 𓛦 𓛧 𓛨 𓛩 𓛪 𓛫 𓛬 𓛭 𓛮 𓛯 𓛰 𓛱 𓛲 𓛳 𓛴 𓛵 𓛶 𓛷 𓛸 𓛹 𓛺 𓛻 𓛼 𓛽 𓛾 𓛿 𓜀 𓜁 𓜂 𓜃 𓜄 𓜅 𓜆 𓜇 𓜈 𓜉 𓜊 𓜋 𓜌 𓜍 𓜎 𓜏 𓜐 𓜑 𓜒 𓜓 𓜔 𓜕 𓜖 𓜗 𓜘 𓜙 𓜚 𓜛 𓜜 𓜝 𓜞 𓜟 𓜠 𓜡 𓜢 𓜣 𓜤 𓜥 𓜦 𓜧 𓜨 𓜩 𓜪 𓜫 𓜬 𓜭 𓜮 𓜯 𓜰 𓜱 𓜲 𓜳 𓜴 𓜵 𓜶 𓜷 𓜸 𓜹 𓜺 𓜻 𓜼 𓜽 𓜾 𓜿 𓝀 𓝁 𓝂 𓝃 𓝄 𓝅 𓝆 𓝇 𓝈 𓝉 𓝊 𓝋 𓝌 𓝍 𓝎 𓝏 𓝐 𓝑 𓝒 𓝓 𓝔 𓝕 𓝖 𓝗 𓝘 𓝙 𓝚 𓝛 𓝜 𓝝 𓝞 𓝟 𓝠 𓝡 𓝢 𓝣 𓝤 𓝥 𓝦 𓝧 𓝨 𓝩 𓝪 𓝫 𓝬 𓝭 𓝮 𓝯 𓝰 𓝱 𓝲 𓝳 𓝴 𓝵 𓝶 𓝷 𓝸 𓝹 𓝺 𓝻 𓝼 𓝽 𓝾 𓝿 𓞀 𓞁 𓞂 𓞃 𓞄 𓞅 𓞆 𓞇 𓞈 𓞉 𓞊 𓞋 𓞌 𓞍 𓞎 𓞏 𓞐 𓞑 𓞒 𓞓 𓞔 𓞕 𓞖 𓞗 𓞘 𓞙 𓞚 𓞛 𓞜 𓞝 𓞞 𓞟 𓞠 𓞡 𓞢 𓞣 𓞤 𓞥 𓞦 𓞧 𓞨 𓞩 𓞪 𓞫 𓞬 𓞭 𓞮 𓞯 𓞰 𓞱 𓞲 𓞳 𓞴 𓞵 𓞶 𓞷 𓞸 𓞹 𓞺 𓞻 𓞼 𓞽 𓞾 𓞿 𓟀 𓟁 𓟂 𓟃 𓟄 𓟅 𓟆 𓟇 𓟈 𓟉 𓟊 𓟋 𓟌 𓟍 𓟎 𓟏 𓟐 𓟑 𓟒 𓟓 𓟔 𓟕 𓟖 𓟗 𓟘 𓟙 𓟚 𓟛 𓟜 𓟝 𓟞 𓟟 𓟠 𓟡 𓟢 𓟣 𓟤 𓟥 𓟦 𓟧 𓟨 𓟩 𓟪 𓟫 𓟬 𓟭 𓟮 𓟯 𓟰 𓟱 𓟲 𓟳 𓟴 𓟵 𓟶 𓟷 𓟸 𓟹 𓟺 𓟻 𓟼 𓟽 𓟾 𓟿 𓠀 𓠁 𓠂 𓠃 𓠄 𓠅 𓠆 𓠇 𓠈 𓠉 𓠊 𓠋 𓠌 𓠍 𓠎 𓠏 𓠐 𓠑 𓠒 𓠓 𓠔 𓠕 𓠖 𓠗 𓠘 𓠙 𓠚 𓠛 𓠜 𓠝 𓠞 𓠟 𓠠 𓠡 𓠢 𓠣 𓠤 𓠥 𓠦 𓠧 𓠨 𓠩 𓠪 𓠫 𓠬 𓠭 𓠮 𓠯 𓠰 𓠱 𓠲 𓠳 𓠴 𓠵 𓠶 𓠷 𓠸 𓠹 𓠺 𓠻 𓠼 𓠽 𓠾 𓠿 𓡀 𓡁 𓡂 𓡃 𓡄 𓡅 𓡆 𓡇 𓡈 𓡉 𓡊 𓡋 𓡌 𓡍 𓡎 𓡏 𓡐 𓡑 𓡒 𓡓 𓡔 𓡕 𓡖 𓡗 𓡘 𓡙 𓡚 𓡛 𓡜 𓡝 𓡞 𓡟 𓡠 𓡡 𓡢 𓡣 𓡤 𓡥 𓡦 𓡧 𓡨 𓡩 𓡪 𓡫 𓡬 𓡭 𓡮 𓡯 𓡰 𓡱 𓡲 𓡳 𓡴 𓡵 𓡶 𓡷 𓡸 𓡹 𓡺 𓡻 𓡼 𓡽 𓡾 𓡿 𓢀 𓢁 𓢂 𓢃 𓢄 𓢅 𓢆 𓢇 𓢈 𓢉 𓢊 𓢋 𓢌 𓢍 𓢎 𓢏 𓢐 𓢑 𓢒 𓢓 𓢔 𓢕 𓢖 𓢗 𓢘 𓢙 𓢚 𓢛 𓢜 𓢝 𓢞 𓢟 𓢠 𓢡 𓢢 𓢣 𓢤 𓢥 𓢦 𓢧 𓢨 𓢩 𓢪 𓢫 𓢬 𓢭 𓢮 𓢯 𓢰 𓢱 𓢲 𓢳 𓢴 𓢵 𓢶 𓢷 𓢸 𓢹 𓢺 𓢻 𓢼 𓢽 𓢾 𓢿 𓣀 𓣁 𓣂 𓣃 𓣄 𓣅 𓣆 𓣇 𓣈 𓣉 𓣊 𓣋 𓣌 𓣍 𓣎 𓣏 𓣐 𓣑 𓣒 𓣓 𓣔 𓣕 𓣖 𓣗 𓣘 𓣙 𓣚 𓣛 𓣜 𓣝 𓣞 𓣟 𓣠 𓣡 𓣢 𓣣 𓣤 𓣥 𓣦 𓣧 𓣨 𓣩 𓣪 𓣫 𓣬 𓣭 𓣮 𓣯 𓣰 𓣱 𓣲 𓣳 𓣴 𓣵 𓣶 𓣷 𓣸 𓣹 𓣺 𓣻 𓣼 𓣽 𓣾 𓣿 𓤀 𓤁 𓤂 𓤃 𓤄 𓤅 𓤆 𓤇 𓤈 𓤉 𓤊 𓤋 𓤌 𓤍 𓤎 𓤏 𓤐 𓤑 𓤒 𓤓 𓤔 𓤕 𓤖 𓤗 𓤘 𓤙 𓤚 𓤛 𓤜 𓤝 𓤞 𓤟 𓤠 𓤡 𓤢 𓤣 𓤤 𓤥 𓤦 𓤧 𓤨 𓤩 𓤪 𓤫 𓤬 𓤭 𓤮 𓤯 𓤰 𓤱 𓤲 𓤳 𓤴 𓤵 𓤶 𓤷 𓤸 𓤹 𓤺 𓤻 𓤼 𓤽 𓤾 𓤿 𓥀 𓥁 𓥂 𓥃 𓥄 𓥅 𓥆 𓥇 𓥈 𓥉 𓥊 𓥋 𓥌 𓥍 𓥎 𓥏 𓥐 𓥑 𓥒 𓥓 𓥔 𓥕 𓥖 𓥗 𓥘 𓥙 𓥚 𓥛 𓥜 𓥝 𓥞 𓥟 𓥠 𓥡 𓥢 𓥣 𓥤 𓥥 𓥦 𓥧 𓥨 𓥩 𓥪 𓥫 𓥬 𓥭 𓥮 𓥯 𓥰 𓥱 𓥲 𓥳 𓥴 𓥵 𓥶 𓥷 𓥸 𓥹 𓥺 𓥻 𓥼 𓥽 𓥾 𓥿 𓦀 𓦁 𓦂 𓦃 𓦄 𓦅 𓦆 𓦇 𓦈 𓦉 𓦊 𓦋 𓦌 𓦍 𓦎 𓦏 𓦐 𓦑 𓦒 𓦓 𓦔 𓦕 𓦖 𓦗 𓦘 𓦙 𓦚 𓦛 𓦜 𓦝 𓦞 𓦟 𓦠 𓦡 𓦢 𓦣 𓦤 𓦥 𓦦 𓦧 𓦨 𓦩 𓦪 𓦫 𓦬 𓦭 𓦮 𓦯 𓦰 𓦱 𓦲 𓦳 𓦴 𓦵 𓦶 𓦷 𓦸 𓦹 𓦺 𓦻 𓦼 𓦽 𓦾 𓦿 𓧀 𓧁 𓧂 𓧃 𓧄 𓧅 𓧆 𓧇 𓧈 𓧉 𓧊 𓧋 𓧌 𓧍 𓧎 𓧏 𓧐 𓧑 𓧒 𓧓 𓧔 𓧕 𓧖 𓧗 𓧘 𓧙 𓧚 𓧛 𓧜 𓧝 𓧞 𓧟 𓧠 𓧡 𓧢 𓧣 𓧤 𓧥 𓧦 𓧧 𓧨 𓧩 𓧪 𓧫 𓧬 𓧭 𓧮 𓧯 𓧰 𓧱 𓧲 𓧳 𓧴 𓧵 𓧶 𓧷 𓧸 𓧹 𓧺 𓧻 𓧼 𓧽 𓧾 𓧿 𓨀 𓨁 𓨂 𓨃 𓨄 𓨅 𓨆 𓨇 𓨈 𓨉 𓨊 𓨋 𓨌 𓨍 𓨎 𓨏 𓨐 𓨑 𓨒 𓨓 𓨔 𓨕 𓨖 𓨗 𓨘 𓨙 𓨚 𓨛 𓨜 𓨝 𓨞 𓨟 𓨠 𓨡 𓨢 𓨣 𓨤 𓨥 𓨦 𓨧 𓨨 𓨩 𓨪 𓨫 𓨬 𓨭 𓨮 𓨯 𓨰 𓨱 𓨲 𓨳 𓨴 𓨵 𓨶 𓨷 𓨸 𓨹 𓨺 𓨻 𓨼 𓨽 𓨾 𓨿 𓩀 𓩁 𓩂 𓩃 𓩄 𓩅 𓩆 𓩇 𓩈 𓩉 𓩊 𓩋 𓩌 𓩍 𓩎 𓩏 𓩐 𓩑 𓩒 𓩓 𓩔 𓩕 𓩖 𓩗 𓩘 𓩙 𓩚 𓩛 𓩜 𓩝 𓩞 𓩟 𓩠 𓩡 𓩢 𓩣 𓩤 𓩥 𓩦 𓩧 𓩨 𓩩 𓩪 𓩫 𓩬 𓩭 𓩮 𓩯 𓩰 𓩱 𓩲 𓩳 𓩴 𓩵 𓩶 𓩷 𓩸 𓩹 𓩺 𓩻 𓩼 𓩽 𓩾 𓩿 𓪀 𓪁 𓪂 𓪃 𓪄 𓪅 𓪆 𓪇 𓪈 𓪉 𓪊 𓪋 𓪌 𓪍 𓪎 𓪏 𓪐 𓪑 𓪒 𓪓 𓪔 𓪕 𓪖 𓪗 𓪘 𓪙 𓪚 𓪛 𓪜 𓪝 𓪞 𓪟 𓪠 𓪡 𓪢 𓪣 𓪤 𓪥 𓪦 𓪧 𓪨 𓪩 𓪪 𓪫 𓪬 𓪭 𓪮 𓪯 𓪰 𓪱 𓪲 𓪳 𓪴 𓪵 𓪶 𓪷 𓪸 𓪹 𓪺 𓪻 𓪼 𓪽 𓪾 𓪿 𓫀 𓫁 𓫂 𓫃 𓫄 𓫅 𓫆 𓫇 𓫈 𓫉 𓫊 𓫋 𓫌 𓫍 𓫎 𓫏 𓫐 𓫑 𓫒 𓫓 𓫔 𓫕 𓫖 𓫗 𓫘 𓫙 𓫚 𓫛 𓫜 𓫝 𓫞 𓫟 𓫠 𓫡 𓫢$







his associates, as well as the famous pyramid and temple built by Ammenemes III and later celebrated as the Labyrinth. From Hawwārah to Medīnet el-Fayyūm in the heart of the Oasis is a little less than 8 km.

The difficulty with regard to §§ 12–27 is to space out adequately the temples there mentioned (see Table I), since the places mentioned appear to cluster together in a somewhat improbable fashion. As we have seen, Crocodilopolis is the starting-point, though if subsequent paragraphs return to the neighbourhood of El-Lāhūn, the usual south-north order of mention will have been transgressed. An explanation of such departure from rule has, however, been given above on p. 14. It will probably ease the congestion above alluded to if Rē-(n)-hōnē, which is never apparently determined with the town-sign, be conjecturally identified, not with the village of El-Lāhūn itself, but with the whole stretch of desert running thence to Hawwārah, in which case the temple of Suchus the Shedtite referred to in the heading of § 20 might have lain anywhere along that stretch. There is no means of locating the two minor temples mentioned in §§ 21, 23.

In § 24 we find a temple of Amūn in She, and in § 26 She occurs again, the intervening § 25 recording a temple of the Ennead in Barna. That the two references to She should be thus separated is extremely curious, and indeed the problem presented by that name is very perplexing. Etymologically it means 'Lake District', the same word š as was found in T-wep-She (above, p. 29), there referring to the Fayyūm, cf. too To-She, p. 43. But if She, in the wider sense, designated the whole province, it is by no means impossible that the name was also used of the principal town in that province. There are, indeed, good grounds for thinking that She in our two headings is the name of a town. The town-determinative occurs in A 19, 16; B 21, 9; 23, 4, though not in two other lines of measurement (11, 37; 13, 28) nor in the paragraph-headings of Text A. Since She is thus used as a point of orientation in the lines of measurement, as also is Mi-wēr (11, 20, 30; 12, 18; 13, 20; 14, 3; 15, 20; 20, 17; cf. also B 15, 8; 16, 2), which we must discuss together with it, this fact in itself suggests a town or village. Far more important, however, is the evidence of the Golénischeff Onomasticon (5, 7), which in its town-list immediately after Heracleopolis gives 'She, Robana, Mi-wēr'. From this we may conclude not only that both She and Mi-wēr were towns, but also that they were distinct and that She possibly lay somewhat to the south of Mi-wēr. In spite of the inversion—Ramesside scribes were extremely careless in this respect<sup>1</sup>—Robana cannot well be distinguished from Barna in our § 25 and in the two lines of measurement 13, 50; 15, 15. It is strange that the Wilbour papyrus should never mention any temple in Mi-wēr, the more so since, in case the identification with Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb is admitted, we have explicit mention of one founded there by Ramesses II,<sup>2</sup> and remains of two built by Tuthmosis III.<sup>3</sup> There is some evidence, as we shall see, that Mi-wēr and She were used as alternative names, but the Golénischeff Onomasticon seems to draw a clear distinction between them.

It will be convenient to pursue the discussion of Mi-wēr before returning to the problem of She. The name Mi-wēr in itself means 'Great Canal' or 'Great Channel' and may have belonged originally—we have no reference to it earlier than the New Kingdom—to the branch of the Baḥr Yūsuf from El-Lāhūn to Hawwārah. Usually, however, Mi-wēr is found as the name of a town. Owing to the laxity of Egyptian writing we cannot be quite certain whether the expression 'the Lake (hōnē) of Mi-wēr', i.e. ἡ Μοίριος λίμνη, alludes to Mi-wēr as a town or as a river-arm, but the only early example (B 21, 8, cf. above p. 29) shows the town-determinative. Brugsch<sup>4</sup> clearly recognized the existence of a town of Mi-wēr ('die Möris-Stadt'),<sup>5</sup> quoting two late papyri, the one enumerating the towns of Egypt in an attempt at geographical order, Mi-wēr here intervening between Heracleopolis and Smen-Hōr, the capital of the XXIst nome, and the other mentioning the cults of the principal towns, where Suchus is the god assigned to Mi-wēr. The Golénischeff Onomasticon, which confirms these indications, was not discovered until later. In Ramesside times most 'mayors' ( hṯy-r) are mayors of towns, and the

<sup>1</sup> A good instance is Anasha or Ashana discussed below, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *op. cit.*, pl. 22, from 'Gurob' itself. This temple has a name 'east of Wēse' (Thebes) which resembles in a remarkable way the name 'the Mansion west of Wēse' in B 3, 23;

4, 3; 16, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, IV, 112–13.

<sup>4</sup> ZÄS, xxx, 68–71.

<sup>5</sup> *Dict. géogr.*, 1063, l. 45; 1069, l. 27.



title 'mayor of Mi-wēr' occurs alike in the Wilbour papyrus<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> As regards the localization, it is tempting to see in the Greek place-name *Πτολεμαῖς Ὀρμος*<sup>3</sup> 'Ptolemais Harbour' a close translation of the designation 'The Landing-place of Pharaoh in Mi-wēr' found as the heading of § 37. If so, Mi-wēr, or rather the landing-place near it, will lie in the natural position for a port whence the produce of the Fayyūm could be shipped, namely at the bend of the Baḥr Yūsuf between Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb and El-Lāhūn; it is here that Grenfell and Hunt placed Ptolemais Harbour,<sup>4</sup> and that attribution has not, so far as I know, been disputed. Far better evidence, however, as regards the position is to be found in monuments and papyri unearthed at Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb, a number of them mentioning the Harem of Mi-wēr to which the Wilbour papyrus has been seen (p. 18) to make reference, or else naming men whose titles proclaim them to have been officials of that Royal establishment. Though until recently only a single one of the papyri in question had been published,<sup>5</sup> there can be no doubt that in them we have accounts and business documents relating to this institution, and it would be strange if they had wandered far from the place where the Harem was actually situated. King Ramesses II seems to have housed there his Hittite spouse Maanefruḥarrē,<sup>6</sup> since among the fragments not long ago published by me is one enumerating part of her wardrobe.<sup>7</sup> The presence of a Royal Harem on this spot is explained when we realize that the Fayyūm, then as now, was a famous sporting district; the King, on his occasional visits there, might naturally desire the company of some of his ladies. An unpublished papyrus formerly belonging to M. Golénischeff, which describes the delights of fowling and fishing, makes several references to the Fayyūm (𓂏𓂐 She), and mentions as a useful preliminary to the day's undertaking an offering to the crocodile-god Suchus. So too an Eighteenth Dynasty prince of the Fayyūm (𓂏𓂐 To-She) named Sebkhotpe recalls his service of the Pharaoh as follows: 'I accompanied (His Majesty) as trusty comrade of the Lord of the Two Lands when His Majesty acted as Horus diverting himself and taking pleasure in his season in exploring the coverts of the Fayyūm, faring over the papyrus swamps, slaying (birds) and spearing fishes.'<sup>8</sup>

A manuscript of the Twelfth Dynasty from the neighbouring El-Lāhūn mentions the Harem of Rē-ḥōnē<sup>9</sup> and there is no reason for thinking that this was situated in any other place; we must not forget that the name Mi-wēr does not occur before the New Kingdom. What is far more puzzling is that, as Brugsch pointed out,<sup>10</sup> one Nineteenth Dynasty official whose coffin was found at Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb describes himself as 𓂏𓂐𓂏𓂐𓂏𓂐𓂏𓂐 'Deputy-overseer of the Harem in She',<sup>11</sup> merely substituting She for Mi-wēr in another inscription from the same site,<sup>12</sup> and similarly the Wilbour papyrus itself (A 18, 7) mentions a 'scribe of the King's Apartments in She', with a title parallel to one naming Mi-wēr and quoted above in a footnote.<sup>13</sup> So too the father of the early Eighteenth Dynasty mayor of Thebes Tetaky was an 'overseer of the Harem of She'.<sup>14</sup> A legal document of the late Eighteenth Dynasty from Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb speaks of a woman likely to have been an inhabitant of that place

<sup>1</sup> His name in the Wilbour was Seti, see B § 12, where he is in charge of Royal lands, as in A §§ 42, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Psiūr, see my *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 17, 14; Ḥōri, likewise of Dyn. XIX date and likewise from 'Gurob', *op. cit.*, 26, 18; Perōcenḥeh, Vogliano, *op. cit.*, Pl. 47.

<sup>3</sup> For the right form of the name, pointed out by Skeat, see *JEA*, xxix, 41, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Fayūm Towns and their Papyri*, pp. 12-14; so too *Tebtunis Papyri*, 11, p. 400.

<sup>5</sup> Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, Pls. 39-40, now republished, together with all the fragments of any value, in my *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, pp. 14 ff.; direct references to the Harem, *op. cit.*, p. 15, l. 4; p. 18, l. 11; p. 21, l. 4; p. 24, l. 4; p. 26, ll. 18, 19; p. 28, l. 8; the deputy-overseer Usima'rē'mḥab, *op. cit.*, p. 18, ll. 10, 13; p. 28, l. 14, is mentioned again on stelae (Loat, *Gurob*, Pl. 17, 3, with the full title 'deputy-overseer of the Harem in Mi-wēr'; in Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, Pl. 19, he bears only his other title *ḥry sḥt* 'captain of the guards'). Other Harem-officials referred to on objects from the same site, apart from some to be mentioned later in the text, are the Royal

scribe Maḥu, Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 18, l. 11; the scribe of the King's apartments Sunero, Petrie, *op. cit.*, Pl. 24; the overseer of the Royal apartments Iy, Loat, *op. cit.*, Pl. 15, 1; and lastly, the Royal scribe, overseer of the beauties of the Harem in Mi-wēr, Sety, Petrie, *op. cit.*, Pl. 19, cf. also one Nebamūn, a 𓂏𓂐𓂏𓂐𓂏𓂐 'overseer of beauties of the Lord of the Two Lands', *op. cit.*, Pl. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 23, ll. 2-6. For the name of the Queen see my note in the revised edition, which makes use of Montet's correct observation in *Kémi*, v, 10, see too Pl. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Statue in Marseilles, *Rec. trav.*, 1, Pl. [1]; Capart, *Recueil des Monuments*, Pl. 73. See below, p. 46, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *ZÄS*, LIX, 53, where Scharff not unnaturally hesitated between the meanings 'prison' and 'harem'. Literally *ḥnrt* appears to signify a 'place of restraint'.

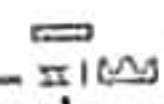
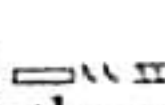
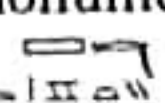
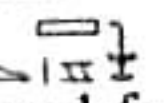
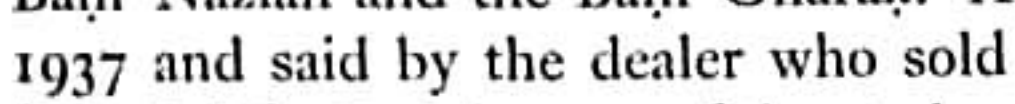
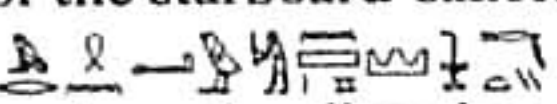
<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, xxx, 71.

<sup>10</sup> Petrie, *op. cit.*, Pl. 19; see my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 1, 132\* for the man's curious name Antursha.

<sup>11</sup> See above, n. 5.

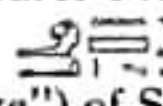
<sup>12</sup> *JEA*, xi, Pls. 3, 4.



as  'of She'.<sup>1</sup> Brugsch, who was acquainted only with the first of these three pieces of evidence, drew the natural conclusion that She was another name for the town of Mi-wēr. Here we find ourselves driven back upon the difficult problem of the town called She. We may agree with Brugsch to the extent that the Harem in She was undoubtedly identical with the Harem in Mi-wēr. On the other hand, it was seen that the Golénischeff Onomasticon definitely distinguished between the towns of She and Mi-wēr. I have an idea that She as name of a town may be short for  'Southern She', of which the mayor in the Wilbour papyrus (B § 13) was named Ipu, cf. the unnamed mayor of this place in A §§ 43. 46, where he is in charge of *minē*- and *khato*-lands respectively. Southern She is never named in the lines of measurement, nor yet in the indications of locality in Text B, and this might speak in favour of its identity with the simple She. Southern She is found also in outside sources,<sup>2</sup> the most interesting being a black granite stela discovered by Daressy at El-Kawtah on the slope of the escarpment of the Libyan desert at the extreme north-western corner of the Fayyūm depression.<sup>3</sup> This monument, probably of Ptolemaic date, marked according to its inscription the boundary between  'the Northern She of Suchus' and  'the Southern She of Suchus'; the stone was overturned, but in any case could not be far removed from its original position. Little can, however, be deduced thence except that Southern She—for we can hardly doubt that this and Southern She of Suchus are identical—was the name, not solely of a town, but also of a whole district well to the west and south-west of Lake Moeris; in a brief enumeration of nomes in an Old Kingdom tomb at Tihna Southern She appears actually as a nome.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the line of demarcation ran in an irregular south-easterly direction as far as Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb following the canals now called the Baḥr Nazlah and the Baḥr Gharāḳ. A Middle Kingdom statuette acquired by the Cairo Museum in 1937 and said by the dealer who sold it to have come from Medīnet Māḍi belonged to a  'master of the starboard-sailors in the boat of Suchus in the Southern She of Suchus', though it mentions also a  'superintendent of desert-rangers of the Southern and Northern She'.<sup>5</sup> This may show the direction followed by the boundary line. Proceeding farther to the south-east, it is curious and possibly significant that the large Harem-document published by Griffith mentions contributions of fish both from I[py?] the mayor of Southern She, and from Psiūr the mayor of Mi-wēr.<sup>6</sup> Nor is this the only mention of Southern She in the papyri from Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb; the fragment of a corn-list dating from the reign of Ramesses II alludes to a mayor of that place named Amenemopē.<sup>7</sup>

How are these apparently discordant facts to be reconciled? The only hypothesis I have been able to frame is very precarious. It is that the town called Mi-wēr lay astride the Baḥr Yūsuf, or possibly rather that Mi-wēr was a comprehensive term for the small towns on both banks of the river-arm. On this view Mi-wēr in the stricter sense will have lain to the north, while She, more properly called Southern She, will have lain to the south. North of the water the mayor of Mi-wēr will have held sway, while the parts to the south, where the Royal Harem was situated, will have been under the jurisdiction of the mayor of Southern She. This division of authority will have been not unlike that of Thebes, where there was a mayor of the city on the east side, and a mayor of the West of the City on the other bank. However, I repeat that this hypothesis is highly precarious.

<sup>1</sup> ZAS, XLIII, 38, l. 3.

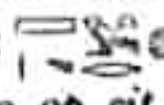
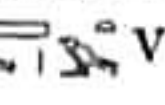
<sup>2</sup> See Gauthier, *op. cit.*, v, 123. The Sebkhotpe, son of Kap, of whom there are statues both in Marseilles and in Berlin (No. 11635, *Aeg. Inschr.*, II, 45-6), and who has been mentioned already in the text, is on the Berlin monument styled 'mayor of She' like his father (var. 'great mayor in She'), while on the Marseilles statue he appears either as 'great mayor in To-She' or as 'mayor of Southern She and of Northern She'. Another Sebkhotpe, whose father was the chief treasurer Min and who owned tomb 63 at Thebes, calls himself  'mayor of Southern She and of the She ("lake") of Suchus' (my own copy, see too Lepsius, *Denkm.*, Text, III, 261), whence it looks as though 'She of Suchus' (see Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 53) and 'Northern She' were identical. Cairo 20070 mentions a

steward of the 'Southern She of Suchus'. At El-Lāhūn was found a broken altar of a mayor of Southern She who apparently bore the unexampled name Wadjwēr (Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, Pl. 11, 4). Other references see Gauthier, *loc. cit.* and in the text.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Serv.*, I, 44 ff.; see too the article by Ahmed Fakhry, *op. cit.*, XI, 897 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 76.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, XI, 904.

<sup>6</sup> See Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 15, l. 7 and p. 17, l. 14. I take this opportunity of quoting some curious writings of Mi-wēr which look like a blending of the two names Mi-wēr and She:  Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob*, Pl. 50;  Vogliano, *op. cit.*, Pl. 47.

<sup>7</sup> Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 30, ll. 11. 15.



In § 24 is mentioned a subsidiary cult in She of Amūn, (lord of) Thrones of the Two Lands, and by way of illustration it may be mentioned that on the Berlin statue of the mayor of She Sebkhotpe<sup>1</sup> the invocation is addressed to 'Amen-Rē', the great god, lord of She', and that at Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb stelae have been found depicting worship of Amen-Rē.<sup>2</sup> Greek papyri also tell of an 'Αμμωνιεύιον in Moeris,<sup>3</sup> but whether the Moeris in question is the same as the town discussed above remains for future investigation to decide.

Among the most difficult problems of the region we have been discussing is its apparent duplication of names. Grounds have been discovered for thinking that She and Mi-wēr, though not names of the same town, at least refer to two that were closely adjacent; in the one case the name was also that of the entire Lake-country and in the other that of the canal or channel running north-westward in the direction of Crocodilopolis. Further, it has not proved possible to draw a clear distinction between T-wep-She 'The Lake's Beginning' and Rē-hōnē which, if my new interpretation is sound, signifies 'Lake's Mouth'. Matters are further complicated by the name  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$  P-My, which occurs eight times identically written in lines of measurement of Text A. Since in all these cases 'in' (or 'of') P-My is a supplementary designation defining the whereabouts of a preceding place (Tent-woid, 12, 4; 13, 46; 20, 35; T-abay, 11, 39; 13, 40; Pennē, 13, 42; see too 11, 35; 18, 22), it must necessarily refer to a district of some size. Now the element *my* can hardly be the well-known word for 'seed', nor is it likely to be a writing of the ordinary word for 'water'. A clue to its meaning is perhaps given by B 16, 6, where, in an entry indisputably referring to the same plot of *khato*-land as A 20, 35,  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$  P-y (*sic*)<sup>4</sup> is written. In view of the amazing inversions and distortions of these degenerate Ramesside scribes (see above, pp. 35 f.), it seems far from improbable that both texts were intending to write  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$  P-yom, i.e. 'the Sea', the prototype of the name Fayyūm (Coptic  $\text{ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙ}$ , containing the Hebrew word  $\text{יָם}$  'sea').<sup>5</sup> Then we should have three expressions referring directly or indirectly to the Lake of Moeris,  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$ , i.e. exactly *Μοίριος λιμνὴ* (above, p. 29),  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$  She 'the Lake-country', and lastly this prototype of the Arabic designation Fayyūm. That the scribes of the Wilbour papyrus drew some topographical distinction between them is probable, but what distinction is unknown.

In order to determine the relations of Section II to Sections I and III, it will be profitable once again to tabulate the relevant temple-sites named in the paragraph-headings of the first and third of these, but adding the smaller temples which are known only to the Wilbour papyrus and were omitted in Table I; in the column to the right references are given to the lines of measurement where the place-names in question occur.

Section II	Section III	Lines of Measurement
Sakō (§ 91)	Sakō (§§ 160-2)	Table II, No. 120; Sect. IV
Spermeru (§§ 92-5)	Spermeru (§§ 163-9)	Table II, No. 121; Sect. III
Opē (§ 96)		Table II, No. 21; Sects. II & III
The Village of Tjayef (§ 97)	The Village of Tjayef (§ 170-1)	—
	[The House of the King's Wife (§ 172)]	
	Sharopē (§ 173)	Table II, No. 131; Sect. III
	—	—
The Houses of the God (§ 98)		
Pi-Wayna (§§ 99-100)		Table II, No. 73; Sect. II
Keep of 'Onayna (§ 101)		Only in Sect. II (40, 22)
..... Temē (§ 102)		—
(Amūn of the Beautiful Foreland in Memphis) (§ 103)		—

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 46, n. 2. In the title of Amūn She is most curiously written  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$ .

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, *op. cit.*, Pl. 22, 6; Loat, *Gurob*, Pls. 17, 1; 19.

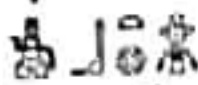
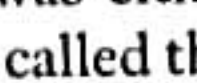
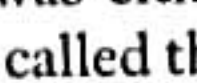
<sup>3</sup> *Tebtunis Papyri*, III, i, p. 216, the note on No. 781, ll. 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> It is, however, just possible that  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$  here does double duty for *m* and as a determinative, as in two earlier examples of the same word, see my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, pp. 162\* f.

<sup>5</sup> The earliest mentions of P-yom in connexion with the Fayyūm appear to be in demotic papyri referring to Crocodilopolis

as *dml p-ym* 'town of the sea', see Brugsch, *ZAS*, xxxi, 24. So too the Coptic examples use similar expressions in connexion with the same place, see Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 77, and the modern Arabic Medinet el-Fayyūm is, accordingly, a mere translation. Perhaps this coincidence may have a bearing on the whereabouts of P-My in the Wilbour papyrus. Gauthier (*Dict. géogr.*, I, 167) has misread Brugsch's allusion (*op. cit.*, 23) and has wrongly attributed it to the far earlier Marseilles statue of Sebkhotpe.



From this it looks as though the boundary between Zones II and III must be placed only a little way downstream from Spermeru. The next point to be noted is that Section II names five temples after the last that it has in common with Section III, whence its territory may be presumed to have gone a good deal farther north. The last name of the five has been the subject of considerable discussion (see the Synopsis under § 103) and is of interest in several respects. The fact that this 'House of Amūn of the Beautiful Foreland in Memphis' was not placed in the Memphite series of temples is sufficient evidence that it was not situated in the actual city. Text B will be found to give strong support to the notion that 'in Memphis' may sometimes signify 'in the Memphite nome', and if it does so here, the 'foreland' in this temple-name, like the 'backland' in the name of another temple of Amūn already discussed (§ 30, see pp. 37, 41), may refer to its position in the nome to which it belongs. But where must the southern limit of the Memphite nome be sought? Sethe<sup>1</sup> argued from the ancient name of Abušīr el-Meleḳ, about 23 km. north of Heracleopolis, that this place lay within that nome; the name is  'Abydus of Lower Egypt', and strange as it would be to find reckoned to Lower Egypt a town on the West bank well to the south of Aṭfīḥ, Sethe did not shrink from that conclusion, from which it would necessarily follow that the Memphite nome (No. I of the Delta series) extended as far as this. Later, however, it emerged from excavations that Kafr 'Ammar, full 30 km. to the north of Abušīr el-Meleḳ, was either the original capital of the XXist Upper Egyptian nome or else very near it—the Egyptians called the capital  Smen-Hōr or  Shena-khen.<sup>2</sup> Consequently Sethe, in a later work,<sup>3</sup> placed the boundary of Lower Egypt somewhere to the north of Kafr 'Ammar, perhaps a little to the south of Lisht, though how he now explained the 'Abydus of Lower Egypt' is not clear.<sup>4</sup> An inscription of very late date appears to locate this town in the Heracleopolite nome,<sup>5</sup> and whatever the mention of Lower Egypt in its name may signify, it seems unlikely that Sethe's earlier contention can be maintained. It is true that the Wilbour papyrus, like all the early Greek sources, knows nothing of the XXist nome, and indeed the heading of § 5 of Text B appears to make the Heracleopolite and Memphite nomes contiguous. That, however, the earlier XXist nome was absorbed in the Heracleopolite nome is far more likely than that it ever came to form part of the Memphite.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly we can barely locate the temple here under discussion farther south than Lisht, and it may have lain a good deal farther north.

In any case the problem of this temple's position can throw but little light on the whereabouts of the northern boundary of Zone II. For though some of its fields were situated near Mi-ēḥu, a village belonging exclusively to that zone, others lay in the neighbourhood of Opē (here qualified as *isy* 'the old?'), which the above tabulation shows to have been close to the border between Zones II and III. We may infer, accordingly, that the temple of Amūn of the Beautiful Foreland was important enough to have possessed fields far from its immediate surroundings. The immediate predecessor in Section II (§ 102), mentioning a chapel of the hippopotamus goddess Thoēris, has lost part of the heading, but happily the name Temē remains, with the determinative of water. This Temē is known from the Graeco-Roman nome-lists as the name of the  $\equiv$  *mr* 'canal' of the XIXth nome, that of Spermeru.<sup>7</sup> If the chapel's relatively small plot of land lay near it, as is likely, the site will have been presumably south of Heracleopolis, the capital of the XXth nome. It does not follow, however, that Zone II ended here. An ending farther north seems indicated by a locality called 'The Castle of Meryrē' (Table II, No. 67), which occurs twice in lines of measurement of Section II (26, 6; 34, 12) and once in a paragraph-heading (§ 78) of the same section; unfortunately the paragraph in question does not occur within the series of topographically arranged smaller temples. Now this 'Castle of Meryrē' is found twice in § 5

<sup>1</sup> ZÄS, XLIV, 29. Sethe's contention is accepted by Scharff, *Das vorgeschichtliche Gräberfeld von Abusir el-Meleq*, pp. 1, 79.

<sup>2</sup> So Griffith in *JEA*, III, 142. For these towns see Gauthier, *op. cit.*, v, 37, 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Urgeschichte u. älteste Religion d. Ägypter*, § 59 and Map I.

<sup>4</sup> In his earlier article Sethe himself had pointed out that in the Graeco-Roman nome-lists the Nome of Neith was divided into an Upper (IV) and a Lower Egyptian (V) nome. For this equally perplexing fact he had no satisfactory explanation.

<sup>5</sup> Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, Pl. 26, quoted by Scharff, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> On account of the heading in Text B just quoted it seems that we must reject Griffith's suggestion (*loc. cit.*) that the XXist nome was absorbed into the XXInd (Aphroditopolite).

<sup>7</sup> e.g. Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, I, 343 (half destroyed); Chassinat, *Edfou*, IV, 189 (LXXIV); Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften*, III, 95.



of Text B (8, 6. 21), a paragraph the somewhat cryptic heading of which appears to indicate that at least some of the localities in it were beyond the backland of the Heracleopolite nome and already in Memphite territory. Some degree of confirmation is afforded by the fact that the same paragraph refers twice to Tpēhu (Aṭfih), one of the references being to a site opposite that city, i.e. on the left bank. Now while Text B has a paragraph (§ 50) mentioning the temple of Amūn at Meydūm, very nearly on a level with Aṭfih, neither Meydūm nor Aṭfih occurs in any series of local temples contained in Text A, as would have been expected if the area of that text went as far northwards. The inference which I am moved to draw is that while Zone I, i.e. the area covered by Section I, starting at or near Ninsu (Heracleopolis Magna), then looked westward and was mainly concerned with the Fayyūm, Zone II, beginning a little north of Spermeru, continued northwards at no great distance from the river as far perhaps as the modern El-Waṣṭa, a few kilometres south of Meydūm. In that case Zone I will have lain chiefly to the west of Zone II, whilst not extending nearly as far south. The main objection to this view lies in the difficulty of believing that the Memphite nome reached as far upstream as El-Waṣṭa, though if the Castle of Meryrē were situated near there, as the combined evidence of Texts A and B seems to suggest, then the heading of § 5 of Text B would definitely imply that the Memphite nome did extend thus far.

Returning now to the question of Opě, it has already been noted (p. 48) that this lay practically on the boundary between Zones II and III. Spermeru, which comes immediately before it in the paragraph-headings of Section II, cannot have been far away; this receives some confirmation from the fact that in Text B, § 30 two pieces of *khato*-land in the charge of a prophet of Nephthys of Spermeru were situated in places common to Sections II and III of Text A, compare B 22, 13 with Table II, No. 14 and B 22, 12 with Table II, No. 15; furthermore, among the *khato*-lands superintended by the mayor of Spermeru, the first to be recorded in § 16 of Text B (17, 14) lay at Mi-ēhu, a place confined in Text A to Section II, see Table II, No. 90. The evidence relating to the temple of Amūn Tjayef (see again the tabulation above) suggests that it likewise lay near the border between the two zones, since it owned some fields at a place in Zone II (Lake of Ḥesmen-yeb, Table II, No. 129) and others at a place in Zone III (Sapa, see Table II, No. 119). As regards 'The Houses of the God', Pi-Wayna, and the Keep of 'Onayna, all that can be said is that they lay between the Village of Tjayef and Temě. The most doubtful place named in the tabulation of p. 47 is Sharopě (§ 173), which, owing to the intrusive § 172, may not belong to the south-north series at all. This place is frequently mentioned in the lines of measurement of Section III, see Table II, No. 131. It seems not impossible that it was on the east bank, since Text B twice mentions it in connexion with Anubis of Ḥardai (B 13, 16; also 19, 21 together with the paragraph-heading), and Ḥardai, as we shall see, was either on the east bank or upon an island.

Section IV now alone remains to be discussed, and just as Section III was found to be dominated by Spermeru, so is this by Sakō. We have seen (p. 40) that Sakō is sometimes given in Graeco-Roman times as the metropolis of the Cynopolite nome (XVII), and it has become an article of faith with Egyptologists that this town was situated at the modern El-Kēs only about 15 km., as we have seen, south-east of Bahnasa. That El-Kēs is the Coptic ⲕⲟⲉⲓⲥ, ⲕⲁⲓⲥ is certain, and the Rylands list of Bishoprics gives immediately below ⲕⲁⲓⲥ ⲁⲓⲩⲱ 'Upper Cyno(polis)' the equation ⲕⲁⲓⲥ ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲓ = مدينه القيس 'Medīnet el-Kēs'.<sup>1</sup> Brugsch (*Dict. géogr.*, 863) was able to quote from Denderah a hieroglyphic text mentioning Anubis, lord of ⲕⲁⲓⲥ, and this seemed to clinch the equation Cynopolis = Sakō = El-Kēs. However, Brugsch further took the very bold step of inverting the order of the two elements in the hieroglyphic name of the town, reading it as Ka-sa, and Gauthier (*Dict. géogr.*, v, 193) and others have followed him, Spiegelberg even writing an article<sup>2</sup> to explain the inversion away by reference to Lacau's principle of 'metathèses apparentes', and finding his hypothesis supported by occasional Ptolemaic writings in which the sign ⲕ is very small and placed immediately in front of the bull. I must confess I find this way of looking at the matter very hard to digest, though accepted by such authorities as Griffith,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales*, p. 50, ll. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> *ZAS*, XLIV, 98-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Rylands Papyri*, III, 89, footnote, right. Griffith allowed him-

self to be so much influenced by the Arabic name that he wrote *Q1-s1*.



Steindorff<sup>1</sup> and Kees.<sup>2</sup> In all Ramesside examples *Sr-k* is clearly written in that order; moreover, the name is clearly significant as containing the word for 'bull', and 'back of the bull' makes sense, while 'bull of the back' does not. Consequently I render the name as Sakō, the Old Coptic pronunciation of *k* 'bull' being *kō*. Now, though I reject the inversion *Kr-s* and the identity of this name with El-Ḳēs,<sup>3</sup> it seems to me that the combined evidence of the Rylands list of Bishoprics and of Ptolemy justify the identification of the *place* Sakō with the *place* El-Ḳēs. Ptolemy, after describing the Oxyrhynchite nome, continues as follows (IV, 5, 29):

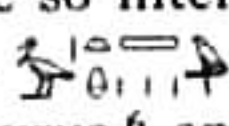
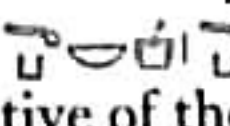
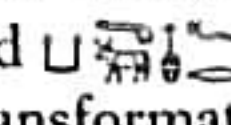
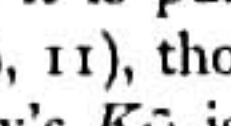
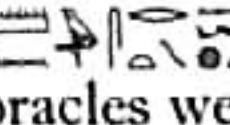
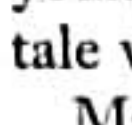
Then similarly the Cynopolite nome, and metropolis to the west of the river:

Cō                      61° 50'                      28° 40'

To which is opposite on the island:

Cynōn polis    62° 10'                      28° 40'

Since Oxyrhynchus (El-Bahnasa) has been placed at 61° 40' longitude and 28° 50' latitude, El-Ḳēs is a not unreasonable position for Cō, and this name, meaning simply 'bull', could easily be an abbreviated form of 'back of the bull'. Ptolemy's longitudes are, however, considerably too widely separated from one another, particularly that of Cynopolis.<sup>4</sup>

The facts connected with the cults of Sakō and the original Cynopolis or Cynōn polis (to be discussed hereafter) are so interesting, that no excuse is needed for a digression. The discovery<sup>5</sup> that the god of Sakō was  Bata, the hero of the Story of the Two Brothers, is amply confirmed by the Wilbour papyrus,<sup>6</sup> and it thence seems apparent that the worship of Anubis in that town, and the transference to it of the name of Cynōn polis, qualified, however, as 'Upper' (*ānw*),<sup>7</sup> were consequences of the removal of the nome capital thither in Graeco-Roman times. It is further clear that Bata was conceived of, at least in one of his aspects, as a bull. On the stela Leyden V1<sup>8</sup> we find included, among the many interesting deities whose attributes the sculptor Hātiay knew and was able to portray,  'the bull, lord of Sakō', and the town itself, in the Wilbour, always shows the determinative of the bull (e.g. A 38, 36; 62, 24; 99, 11; B 24, 12) as in the Golénischeff Onomasticon (5, 6) and often in later times. Even more curious, and assuredly no mere coincidence, is the fact that the prophet of Bata was named  Kanūfe, lit. 'the beautiful bull' (e.g. A 38, 36; 77, 51; B 24, 11), vividly recalling Bata's transformation in the tale (*Orb.*, 14, 5) into a 'great bull (*k*) which was of every beautiful colour'. Possibly it is pure accident that the name of this prophet should once have been written simply  (99, 11), though some may be willing to find in the determinative a confirmation of my view that Ptolemy's *Kō* is a mere form of the place-name Sakō. The town also possessed a chapel dedicated to  'Amūn, Foreteller of Victories' (A §§ 161. 270; B 24, 12), presumably a place where oracles were given, and this god is mentioned immediately before 'the Bull, lord of Sakō' on the Leyden stela quoted above.<sup>9</sup> We have nowhere the slightest ground for thinking that in Rameside times Anubis was worshipped at Sakō together with Bata, as Spiegelberg assumed. The story seems to reflect the close relationship between the two towns, and from the fact that Bata was the younger brother of Anubis we ought probably to deduce the further fact that at the time when the tale was composed Sakō was a place of less importance than Hārdai, the home () of Anubis.

Many references have been made to Hārdai on earlier pages of this book, but it has not been found opportune to discuss its exact location until now. That its god was Anubis was known from various

<sup>1</sup> *Die ägyptischen Gaue*, in *Abh. d. kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, xxvii, 865, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *ZAS*, LXIII, 98.

<sup>3</sup> Can original *k* in Egyptian ever yield *ḳ* in Arabic? The examples I have in mind go back to original *k* or *g*, though the intermediate Coptic or Greek writings show *u*.

<sup>4</sup> The above had already been written when Ball's *Egypt in the Classical Geographers* came into my hands. I am pleased to see that my identifications of the three sites agree with his, see *op. cit.*, p. 111.

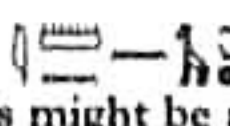
<sup>5</sup> *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xxvii, 185.

<sup>6</sup> See the references to the town given below. The Wilbour also has the personal names Bataemhab (3 persons, see 40, 36;



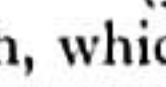
52, 46; 65, 37; 77, 38), Batahotpe, 77, 45, and P'anbata 39, 25. A place named Pentobata (B 9, 18. 23; 23, 1) was evidently called after property that had belonged to a man called 'Obata, i.e. 'Great-is-Bata'.


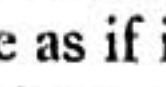
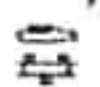
<sup>7</sup> For the purpose of this adverb see below p. 51.

<sup>8</sup> Boeser, *Stelen*, Pl. I in *Beschreibung der ägypt. Sammlung . . . in Leiden*, vi; translated in my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Text I, pp. 51 ff.


<sup>9</sup> The name is there written . It is conceivable that the following words might be an epithet of Amūn, so that an identification of Bata and Amūn may have been in the mind of the scribe. This, however, is very uncertain.



passages quoted by Brugsch,<sup>1</sup> but he and other scholars as well<sup>2</sup> failed to recognize the town in the important list of lesser temples given by the Harris papyrus, see Table I. Here (61, b, 11) we find  'the House of Anubis, lord of Hardai' between 'the House of Suchus, lord of Anasha' and 'the House of Seth, lord of Spermeru'. This indicates its position only very roughly, but the Golénischeff Onomasticon (5, 6) does better in placing it, written , between the unlocated town of  Men'oukh, which is of frequent occurrence in Section IV of our papyrus (§ 262; also Table II, No. 89), and Sakō. The cult of Anubis, coupled with the proximity to Sakō, leaves no doubt that Hardai is Cynopolis (Cynōn polis) as indeed has of late been generally recognized. Now the Rylands list of Bishoprics, as we have seen, connects Sakō (El-Kēs) with 'Upper Cyno', whereas the Golénischeff Onomasticon gives Hardai before Sakō, seeming to suggest a position farther upstream. No significance attaches to the adverb  $\alpha\upsilon\omega$  in the Bishoprics' list, since the contrast here is not with an earlier Cynopolis a little downstream, but with the  $\kappa\omicron\gamma\upsilon\omega$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\omega$  of the Delta, which was situated at Abu Šīr Bana near Sammanūd. Nor need much importance be given to the order in the Golénischeff Onomasticon, which could easily err a little in the case of places on different sides of the river. Ptolemy states that Cynōn polis was 'on the island' ( $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \nu\eta\sigma\omega$ ), a rather obscure expression,<sup>3</sup> and Strabo, in partial agreement, informs us that Oxyrhynchus was 'on the far side of the river' ( $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\alpha$ ) from Cynōn polis (17, 1. 40). When we take into consideration the fact that mummified dogs have been found at or near Shēkh Faḍl,<sup>4</sup> very nearly opposite El-Kēs on the East bank, it is difficult not to locate Hardai there or thereabouts. If Hardai lay on an island, that would explain why it is never used as a point of orientation in the lines of measurement, but it is strange that no mention occurs in Text A of fields belonging to Anubis, its god, especially as some are twice mentioned in Text B (13, 16; 19, 24). Fields belonging to its Landing-place are, however, recorded in Sections II (§ 84), III (§ 154), and IV (§ 241), and curiously enough, occupy the most space in the first of these. *Khato*-lands of Pharaoh were in the charge of the prophet of its god Anubis (B § 22) and of its mayor (A § 115; B § 16), and the latter also looked after some fields belonging to the Harem at Memphis (A § 110), as well as some donated to the God of Pharaoh, very possibly by the mayor himself (A 56, 46-7). But the most important part played by Hardai in the Wilbour papyrus was, as we have seen, p. 39, that of centre of the nome administration.

Allusion has already been made to the extraordinary writing of the town's name in Text B. The writing in Text A (e.g. 55, 29; 60, 24; 89, 11) is itself strange enough, what was a single wing attached to and above the bird's body in Harris, and in the Golénischeff Onomasticon two wings or a twofold flagellum similarly above and attached, having in Text A become a detached sign like a hieratic horizontal finger  $\equiv$ , which I have used in transcribing it. In Text B (e.g. 17, 13; 19, 22) we find what can hardly be read otherwise than as  Harsperu. As regards the identity of the town designated as Hardai in Text A and Harsperu in Text B there can be practically no doubt, since both had the same mayor Nefer'abē<sup>5</sup> (cf. A 56, 46-7 with B 17, 13), and both the same deity Anubis (B § 22; with the town-name spelt Hardai only in outside sources). Now most later writings of Hardai, from the early demotic papyri onwards,<sup>6</sup> spell the name as if it signified 'Horus is here' () and it is therefore possible that the writing of Text B may be a variant of sense, 'Horus has arrived'. On the other hand, some may argue that since none of the earlier spellings of Hardai<sup>7</sup> show the second element as 

<sup>1</sup> *Dict. géogr.*, 510. 1069.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, § 368; Kees, *ZÄS*, LVIII, 97; Gauthier, *op. cit.*, v, 27. All these scholars realized that the sign for the XVIIIth nome  was somehow involved, and therefore, except Kees, who pointed out the error (*op. cit.*, 92), read the name of the town as Sepa, following the example of Brugsch, *op. cit.*, 696. Erichsen alone, by transcribing with  $\equiv$ , has seemed to show a realization that Hardai was intended.

<sup>3</sup> Reading Ptolemy's statement in conjunction with the preceding context, it seems impossible to interpret 'the island' otherwise than as the island constituting the Heracleopolite nome, but this is contradicted by Ptolemy's indication that that island came to an end downstream from Cynopolis, see Ball,

*op. cit.*, p. 70, top.

<sup>4</sup> See Kees in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Cynopolis'; Hopfner, *Tierkult.*, 50.

























<sup>5</sup> At a later stage (pp. 183 f.) an attempt will be made to account for the curious fact that in the earlier text of the two Nefer'abē is described as deceased (A 56, 46, cf. 29, 2), while in the later he is not. The Nefer'abē of 66, 5 may have been a different person.

<sup>6</sup> Griffith, *Rylands Papyri*, III, 423; cf. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb*, p. ix.

<sup>7</sup> To those already quoted must be added *P. Brit. Mus.* 10052, 10, 18, see Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, Pl. 31, to which reference will be made again below.



the interpretation 'here' is secondary. The pros and cons in this question are fairly equally balanced, and it is best to refrain from any positive conclusion.

At all events, the occurrence in the name of Ḥardai of a falcon god written either simply as Horus , as , as  or as  undoubtedly points to the proximity of the East bank and of the nome of  (XVIII), whose deity has been elaborately studied by Kees.<sup>1</sup> He gives  as the oldest form and as a rather later one , the latter writing familiar as that of the god of the XIIth nome, that of , and now usually read as 'Anti and understood as 'god of the claw'.<sup>2</sup> It is only when  is written that the epithet *dwn nwy* 'he of the outstretched wings' could be really appropriate, and it is perhaps to be conjectured that throughout all this region of the East bank the names Horus, Dwen-*anuy* and 'Anti referred ultimately to the same falcon god and were in some places perhaps alternatively used, while elsewhere one of the three was preferred to the others. In Ptolemaic times  was used as  *Mntw*, as is seen in Manetho's *Μενθεσσοφίς* (5th king of VIth Dyn.), the original of this (*Mntw-m-sif*) being found applied at the late period in question to a private individual and written phonetically.<sup>3</sup> However, I doubt whether for earlier times *Mntw* ranks as a likely candidate for the name of the god of the XVIIIth nome. I am indebted to M. Lacau for knowledge of the nome-list on the recently re-erected temple of Sesostri I at Karnak, and here the XVIIIth nome is written as , and has  H-nesu associated with it so prominently that we cannot doubt that this was the capital at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. On the same monument  'Anubis of *Hnw*'<sup>4</sup> is mentioned in connexion with  the Cynopolite nome (XVII), so that Ḥardai may not have been the original capital, and may have become so only later. The god of H-nesu is given in various texts as Horus,<sup>5</sup> and so he appears in Text B, see   'Horus, lord of H-nesu' in the heading of § 51, and also B 2, 6. That H-nesu was situated at El-Kōm el-Aḥmar Sawāris, 5 km. south of Shārūnah, is known from inscriptions on the site;<sup>6</sup> this is about 8-10 km. north of Shēkh Faḍl, near which Ḥardai was seen to be located. Finally, the same falcon-god is found in the Wilbour papyrus in yet another form: Text A ascribes fields to  'Anti in U-'Anti' (§ 265) and to Ḥathōr, lady of the Two Lands in U-'Anti (§ 267), while both the town (Table II, No. 45) and other places compounded with the name of the god (T-seker-'Anti or T-seker-m-U-'Anti, 98, 28. 35; New land of 'Anti, 98, 32) are mentioned in the lines of measurement, obviously in the same neighbourhood.<sup>7</sup> There can be no doubt that these towns, villages and temples were on the East bank, within the boundaries of the earlier XVIIIth nome. It is interesting to find the same god and town on the already quoted Leyden Stela V 1 (l. 15) just before Amūn, Foreteller of Victories, whose temple, as we saw, was in Sakō; the writing  is valuable as confirming my readings in Text A. It is now well-known that  and other writings of the kind are corruptions of  or , &c., due to the similarity of  and  in hieratic.<sup>8</sup>

We are now in a position to deal with the range of Section IV, and for that purpose I tabulate the smaller temples named in its paragraph-headings, as was done for Sections II and III.

Section IV	Lines of measurement	
Hermopolis, § 252	..	Harr.; <sup>9</sup> Gol.
Amūn Mui-Khant, § 253	..	Harr.; Gol.
Anasha, §§ 254-60	implied in Table II, Nos. 107. 109	Harris; also Table I, Sect. III
Iy-merwōtef, § 261	Table II, No. 16	—
Ment'onkh, §§ 262-3	Table II, No. 89	Gol.
'Akhwey, § 264	—	—
U-'Anti, §§ 265-7	Table II, No. 45	—
—	—	—
Sakō, §§ 268-73 (or 75?)	Table II, No. 120	Ḥardai, Harr.; Gol. Gol.

<sup>1</sup> ZAS, LVIII, 92 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 53.

<sup>3</sup> Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Not *Hbmw*, which with its god Horus is mentioned on the  
(Footnotes continued at foot of opposite page.)



The series of small temples ends with Sakō (El-Kēs), which must clearly have been situated near the boundary of Zone IV, the zone covered by Section IV. We have seen (p. 51) that the fact of Ḥardai being on an island, if true, might explain why it is never mentioned in the lines of measurement, and if the fields belonging to its god Anubis that are mentioned in Text B have no counterpart in Text A, this may be because they lay on the East bank, and because the fields visited by the surveyors on that bank did not extend farther north than U-‘Anti; it is noticeable that Text A mentions no fields at Ḥ-nesu (El-Kōm el-Aḥmar Sawāris). Farther south on the same bank was ‘Akhwēy, the chapel of whose goddess Ḥathōr still exists at Es-Sirīriyah,<sup>1</sup> about 21 km. south of Shēkh Faḍl, and 14 km. north of the Gebel eṭ-Ṭēr. It must be realized that on this side of the Nile the cultivated area is very small, and indeed the desert and limestone cliffs often run right up to the river. Consequently, when we find Men‘onkh mentioned frequently in the lines of measurement, we may be sure that it lay to the west of the Nile. Probably Men‘onkh lay on a level with some point between Es-Sirīriyah and Gebel eṭ-Ṭēr, since Text A places it between ‘Akhwēy, equivalent to the former, and Iy-merwōtef which, there is reason to think, was situated on the East bank actually at the latter. The name which I have rendered Iy-merwōtef in accordance with the spelling in the heading of § 261 presents several variants, two of which might have been conventionally given as Iy-maryaf and Iy-marnaf. Now it can barely be an accident that the Gebel eṭ-Ṭēr possesses a large rock-tomb of the Old Kingdom belonging to a ‘Royal ruler’ (𓅓𓅓) named 𓅓𓅓𓅓𓅓 Iy-marye. Possibly the name in Text A was derived from the owner of that tomb.

The southern limit of the surveyors’ work is probably to be placed at Anasha. Though that town itself, which was evidently of considerable importance, despite its omission from the Golénischeff Onomasticon, is not mentioned in the lines of measurement, its temple of Suchus is frequently used as a point of orientation (Table II, No. 107) and so too is the temple, no doubt situated a little distance away, which Ramesses IV had founded there (§ 256; Table II, No. 109). The name of the town is given as 𓅓𓅓𓅓𓅓 Ashana in § 254 and similarly in the *pōsh*-entries 64, 19; 78, 43; preference should, however, be given to the form 𓅓𓅓𓅓𓅓 Anasha in Harris, 61, b, 10, not merely on account of the intermediate form 𓅓𓅓𓅓𓅓 Anashana of our § 159, but above all because the still unpublished Middle Kingdom hymn to Suchus in the Ramesseum papyri mentions (l. 28) that god as worshipped in 𓅓𓅓𓅓𓅓 A-nesha ‘Island of Nesha’, which, moreover, is mentioned in an Old Kingdom tomb.<sup>2</sup> The position cannot have been far from Ṭihna el-Gebel, and may have lain either on an island or on the West bank, the cultivation being so scanty on the East side of the river.<sup>3</sup> Kees<sup>4</sup> inclined to locate Anasha at Es-Sirīriyah on the strength of a large sculptured image of Suchus, but we have already accepted another candidate for that position. Fortunately, the alternative proposed by me is confirmed by the fact that, though the designation of the temple (No. 107 in Table II) and various *pōsh*-entries (e.g. 76, 4 = 93, 39; 83, 5 = 93, 29), as well as the Harris passage, call the god simply Suchus (Sobk), both paragraph-headings (§§ 159, 254) identify him with the sun-god as Sebk-Rē, and Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, IV, 131 records an unpublished, though much copied, rock stela at Ṭihna depicting ‘Ramesses III following Amen-Rē before Sebk-Rē’. It results that Anasha cannot be sought

<sup>1</sup> See Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, IV, 126 f.; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, I, 157. For the title of Ḥathōr 𓅓𓅓𓅓𓅓 ‘lady of the altars’ (*ḥtwt*) on the spot, see Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 198 and Text, II, 48. It is doubtful whether ‘Akhwēy, by itself, ought to be taken as a place-name. The goddess is mentioned also in B § 32 and 13, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin, *Äg. Inschr.*, I, 93, see Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 363. Kees (*ZAS*, LVIII, 100, n. 8, cf. also LXIV, 109) notes also a more doubtful late writing, Brugsch, *op. cit.*, 1058.

<sup>3</sup> However, if the meaning attributed above, p. 27, to *hst-hr* is correct, Text A records 60 arouras on the East bank (95, 43, 4).

<sup>4</sup> *ZAS*, LVIII, 100.

same monument in connexion with the adjacent nome, that of the Oryx.

<sup>5</sup> See Brugsch, *op. cit.*, 670, 1360; Kees, *op. cit.*, 97.

<sup>6</sup> Kees, *op. cit.*, 99. He is wrong, however, in saying that the late inscription quoted by Daressy, *Rec. trav.*, XVI, 44-5 is from the Ptolemaic temple; actually it is from a tomb, and was subsequently republished extremely inaccurately, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXI, first Plate after p. 32. On the other hand, the temple

of Ptolemy I does really appear to mention the town, see *Ann. Serv.*, IX, 4.


<sup>7</sup> *Khato*-lands under the authority of the prophet of the same god are mentioned also in § 45 of Text B.


<sup>8</sup> See *ZAS*, XLVII, 50 f.; LVIII, 92 f.; Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. 1, p. 17, n. 5.







<sup>9</sup> For the exact references to mentions alluded to in this column see Table I.



at any great distance from Tihna. There is no indication that Zone IV went farther south than Tihna. We know nothing more of a quite definite nature about the site of the temple of Amūn Mui-Khant than can be learnt from its position in Text A (§ 253) and in the Harris papyrus (61, b, 9),<sup>1</sup> and it is significant that though A § 90 and B 10, 16; 17, 5 record in Zone II some property of Thoth of P-Wadjoi, whose temple immediately precedes that of Amūn Mui-Khant in the Harris papyrus, but according to the Golénischeff Onomasticon is much nearer to Beni Ḥasan,<sup>2</sup> there is no mention of him in Section IV. Moreover, if the work of the surveyors had proceeded farther south than Tihna, it would have been strange that they should not have come across some fields belonging to Horus of Ḥebnu, for the well-known site of Ḥebnu, i.e. Kōm el-Aḥmar just south of Zāwiyet el-Amwāt,<sup>3</sup> is no more than 18 km. south of Tihna on the East bank.

This long discussion must conclude with a few remarks on the history of the nomes concerned. As will be seen from the enumeration of administrative centres on pp. 39 f., the four zones covered by Text A appear to have fallen within only three nomes, the Aphroditopolite (XXII), the Heracleopolite (XX), and the Cynopolite (XVII). Travelling southwards from Tihna we are quickly in the Oryx nome, upon whose existence or non-existence in Ramesside times the Wilbour papyrus sheds no light. On the other hand, it seems legitimate to infer thence that the XIXth nome, which we may perhaps best describe as that of the Double Sceptre, was in abeyance in the days of Ramesses V, though it had revived again by Saite times<sup>4</sup> with its capital at  P-emze, Coptic *neuse*, i.e. Oxyrhynchus, the modern Bahnasa, and thenceforward persisted on, acquiring in the Ptolemaic age the name Oxyrhynchites. Of the XVIIIth Falcon nome the papyrus has likewise nothing to tell, and if it still existed by virtue of an administrative centre of its own,<sup>5</sup> its range will have been much curtailed by Ḥardai, which having adopted Anubis as its god, was by this time capital of the XVIIth Dog nome (Cynopolite). Ḥardai retained its importance right down to the Ptolemaic period, when its ascendancy seems to have yielded before the claims of Sakō.<sup>6</sup> The sacking of Ḥardai by Penḥasi at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty<sup>7</sup> does not appear to have seriously diminished its power, since, as we have seen, it is subsequently often mentioned. Another nome that had likewise disappeared in Ramesside days is the XXIst, which in early times centred round Kafr 'Ammar, on the West bank a little to the south of Lisht. Text B gives reason to suppose that in the time of Ramesses V the Heracleopolite (XXth) and Memphite (No. I of Lower Egypt) nomes were contiguous, and on p. 48 the likelihood was argued that the Heracleopolite nome had swallowed up its neighbour to the north, thus restoring to the nome of the N'ar-tree that original unity which had been taken from it by the early division into an Upper (XXth, Heracleopolite) and a Lower (XXIst) portion. In treating the subject of the administrative centres from the standpoint of the division of Egypt into nomes I do not seek to deny Steindorff's thesis<sup>8</sup> that in the New Kingdom local authority was vested, not in princes of such provinces, but in

<sup>1</sup> Some *khato*-lands under the authority of a prophet of this god are named in § 48 of Text B. Cf. also  in the Golénischeff Onomasticon (5, 6) between Ḥebnu and Mentonkh. In my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, under No. 383 of *On. Am.*, I argue that Pi-Amūn Mui-Khant was Tihna itself.

<sup>2</sup> See too the Golénischeff Onomasticon (5, 6), where P-Wadjoi, written  follows Ḥ-wōr, i.e. Hūr near Beni Ḥasan (see *op. cit.*, under No. 379) and precedes (a)  'the Lady of the Valley', by which cannot be meant  'Hathōr, lady of R-ōnē', so prominently mentioned in the Fraser tombs (Gauthier, *op. cit.*, III, 113), but is rather to be equated with Speos Artemidos, and then (b)  Ḥebnu, see the next note. Among the gods worshipped in the temple of Ramesses II at Shēkh 'Ibādah-Antinoe (see *JEA*, xxvii, 55) is  'Thoth of P-Wadjoi', cf. Gayet, *L'exploration des ruines d'Antinoe*, Pl. 13, in *Ann. du Mus. Guimet*, xxvi. The determinative with  shows that the element *-wady* is that for 'wandering herd' (*Wb.* I, 398, 13) and has nothing to do with

Buto as Kees (*ZAS*, LVIII, 101) supposed.

<sup>3</sup> The identification of Ḥebnu with Zāwiyet el-Amwāt was made long ago by Griffith (*Beni Hasan*, II, 19-20); it has been recently reaffirmed by Varille, *Tombe de Ni-ankh-Pepi à Zāouyet el-Mayetīn*, 29-32, who, however, locates it more precisely at Kōm el-Aḥmar, 2 km. farther south. The contention in the text might possibly be answered by pointing to the fact that the Harris papyrus makes no mention of Ḥebnu, whence it seems conceivable that the town had become of little importance by Dyn. XX.

<sup>4</sup> Griffith, *Rylands Papyri*, III, 89, n. 1, on the basis of the text known as the Adoption of Nitocris, see *ZAS*, xxxv, 18.

<sup>5</sup> This nome, like the Oxyrhynchite, is attested for Saite times by the Adoption of Nitocris.

<sup>6</sup> It is obscure at what moment Ḥ-nesu became capital of the Cynopolite nome, as represented in some Graeco-Roman texts (see above, p. 40), or in other words at what moment the XVIIIth nome became completely merged in the XVIIth.

<sup>7</sup> Recorded in the passage quoted p. 51, n. 7.

<sup>8</sup> See his important paper quoted above, p. 50, n. 1.



mayors of cities. But in the hands of the latter the old division was still implicit, though as at all times in Egyptian history the nome-administrations were constantly changing in number, sometimes spreading over wider areas and sometimes splitting up into smaller units. The Wilbour and the Amiens papyri have in conjunction shed a little more light on this obscure topic.

Two maps have been inserted to illustrate the results of the foregoing pages, the first showing the temple and other sites named in the paragraph-headings, and the second to indicate the range of the surveyors' work, and the more prominent of the places falling within the four Zones. Both maps are necessarily conjectural in many points, particularly the second one.

#### 6. Apportioning and non-apportioning paragraphs. *Pōsh*-headings and *pōsh*-entries

The analysis of Text A has brought us at length to the measurements and assessments themselves—these the very pith and purpose of that text. If the student examines the Plates of transcription, he will soon observe differences of form which necessitate a division of the paragraphs into two distinct kinds. A third kind dealing with the Royal Harems involves but a few paragraphs and may be disregarded for the moment. One of the two main kinds is easily distinguished by eye on account of the three sets of figures in red which their lines of assessment contain; see, for example, §§ 45. 66. 94. 126. Here, more often than not, only one assessment-line separates consecutive indications of places of measurement, and this line is very frequently introduced by the strange-looking group  $\text{C} \dots \sim$ . In many paragraphs, and particularly at the beginning of them, that same group, but docked of its final  $\sim$ , is followed by the name of a person whose occupation is usually that of a  $\text{C} \dots \text{H}$  *ihwty* 'cultivator'. None the less, references to individuals are scanty, and one gains the impression that this kind of paragraph deals with fields cultivated on behalf of the land-owning institutions themselves—the temples at all events—by the agency of those agricultural labourers who, as we glean from the Harris papyrus, were given them in large numbers by the Pharaoh. The first kind of paragraph I shall call 'non-apportioning'.

The second kind differs in never showing three sets of red figures. Frequently there are two red figures preceded by a figure in black, and in this case the last red group always reads  $1: ;^1$  but intermingled with the assessments just described there are often others showing no red writing at all; these have either two numbers in black, or else one black number followed by what is apparently an explanatory sign or group. Paragraphs of this type are likewise easy to distinguish by eye, and §§ 31. 59. 88. 105 are good examples. A more important feature, though one recognizable only with knowledge of the Egyptian language, is the naming of a large number of persons in a position not far different from that of private owners. These persons bear all sorts of titles, and include women as well as men. Sometimes the reference to an individual is replaced by introductory words of other kinds, revealing some more complex form of holding. It follows that the indications of places of measurement are much wider apart than in the non-apportioning paragraphs. The epithet 'apportioning'<sup>2</sup> given to the paragraphs of the second kind is due to the presence of the word  $\text{p} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{p} \text{š}$ , often abbreviated to  $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{p} \text{š}$ , in the headings of some of them, though by no means in all; that word means 'to divide', 'share' or 'apportion', and since the assessments falling under the headings where it is present display a bipartite division of land the nature of which remains to be determined, we seem justified in extending the name 'apportioning' to those paragraphs of which the assessments manifest the same character, even if the word *pš* does not actually occur in the headings.

Of the 279 paragraphs extant in Text A, 156 are non-apportioning, 116 apportioning, and 7 of the Harem type. At this juncture it will be wisest merely to state the kinds of paragraphs belonging to each of the two main classes, and to leave comment for later. The non-apportioning paragraphs comprise a large number of those assigned to temples, both great and small; and if these have apportioning paragraphs as well, the non-apportioning take precedence of them. With one exception (§ 162) all the paragraphs concerned with the sanctuaries called 'Sunshades' (above, p. 16) are non-apportioning, and so are those of which the designation has been translated as 'Tabernacle' (above, pp. 16 f.). To the same

<sup>1</sup> There is one solitary exception (76, 5) with  $111$ ; to this I shall return later.

<sup>2</sup> This English rendering was suggested by Dr. J. G. Milne.








Confirmation is found in a model letter contained in a Ramesside Miscellany. This letter gives the only example known to me outside the Wilbour papyrus of the verb *pš* in a technical sense in reference to agricultural land. The passage merits translation in full:

'Letter to the following effect:—A retainer of mine has come to report to me that you have made<sup>1</sup> for me (too) large an amount of corn in division ( $\text{𓄏} \frac{\square}{\square} \times m pš$ ) in my field which is in the region of the Village of Rē (T-wah-Rē). What is this wrong you are doing me? It is I whom you have (alone) found<sup>2</sup> to penalize among the entire body of taxpayers ( $\text{𓄏} \frac{\square}{\square} \times t št$ ). Very well! I am a retainer of Pharaoh; I stand at his feet. I will not approach you by going to address my complaint to you; I will approach a . . .'<sup>3</sup>

Clearly this letter was imagined as sent to the assessors by a man who complains that, in an apportionment or division of his plot at a given place, this plot has been unfairly assessed, and he goes on to say that he has influence at the Court, and for that reason will not appear before the assessors themselves, but will find a more efficacious means of lodging his protest. In another model letter translated by me I wrongly rendered the feminine collective  $\overline{\text{ax}} \text{ 𑀅𑀲𑀓𑀭𑀺}$  as 'tax-gatherers', and the following new version of the opening sentence will show the superior sense obtainable by understanding the word to mean 'taxpayers', literally 'persons assessed':

'When this letter reaches you, you shall proceed southwards to the taxpayers together with the retainer Ani of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, and you shall set about collecting the taxes (*ms*  *šyt*) of the herdsmen of the Altar of Amūn in copper, lead, &c., &c.'<sup>4</sup>

The conclusion of this letter also deserves to be reproduced, since it may prove of importance for the interpretation of the Wilbour assessments. It reads:

'... wood and charcoal, and whatever imposts ( $\text{𓆎} \text{𓄿} \text{𓏏}$ ) are demanded for the Treasury of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods.'

The two model letters here quoted leave no doubt concerning the nature of the assessments made for private holders of land in the apportioning paragraphs of the Wilbour papyrus. They refer to taxes or rents which those individuals have to pay. To whom they are to be paid is another and more difficult problem.

Whilst dealing with the verb *pš* it seems fitting to discuss the peculiarly interesting type of entries to be known henceforth as *pōsh*-entries.<sup>5</sup> These must not be confounded with the *pōsh*-headings—I use this term to bracket together the headings introduced by *rmnyt pš* ‘apportioning domain’ and *šmw pš* ‘apportioned harvest-taxes’. The *pōsh*-entries occur, not in the headings, but in the body of the paragraphs, and are found, though in differing forms, alike in apportioning and in non-apportioning paragraphs. There are many paragraphs of both kinds without any such entries at all, but these occur fairly frequently, and are of three types, one confined to non-apportioning paragraphs, and two found in the apportioning paragraphs.

(1) The type of *pōsh*-entry found in non-apportioning paragraphs will be called Type A. It always immediately follows a line of assessment (see above, p. 55, and below, pp. 65 f.), and if there is another indication of place of measurement it immediately precedes this; since, however, there is often no such other indication, the *pōsh*-entry of Type A is frequently the concluding line of a paragraph. In quoting an example it will be well to preface it with the two preceding lines; for this purpose I have chosen 29, 32-4, which occur in § 64, a paragraph belonging to the domain of the Theban temple of Medīnet Habu administered by the controller Merymāʿe, a subordinate of the Despatch-writer of Pharaoh. The three lines may be rendered:

**'MEASUREMENT' made to the north-east of the Village of Inroyshes:**

Land cultivated by the cultivator Benenka: 10, mc. 5, mc. 50;


Apportioned for the House of Osiris, lord of Abydos, sacks 34.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. presumably 'fixed'.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. 'picked out'. The following verb *srhc*, literally 'make to stand', is elsewhere in Late Egyptian found in the sense 'to bring someone before the Court' as defendant. The Coptic equivalent *cooge* 'reprove', 'correct' is a little nearer the sense here suggested.

<sup>3</sup> *Anast.* V, 27, 3-7, see my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 71-2.

<sup>4</sup> *P. Chester Beatty V*, 7, 12—18, 2 with pp. 48—9 of the text.

A third example of the collective *št* is in the words  'the tax-payers of 'Tjebu', i.e. of Kāw el-Kebīr, in the Griffith fragments studied *JEA*, xxvii, 66-9, and to be published more fully in my *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The pronunciation *pōsh* is that of the Coptic infinitive *absolutus* of the verb meaning 'to divide'.



We are not concerned here with the numbers or the units of measurement—*mc.* stands for 'measures of corn'—nor yet with the exact translation of the initial word of the second line; let us concentrate attention on the group  $\frac{x}{\text{---}}$  at the beginning of the third line. By far the commonest writing is  $\frac{x}{\text{---}}$ , sometimes with two or four or even rarely with as many as five ticks, but for this uninformative spelling the principal scribe of Text A a few times substitutes  $\frac{x}{\text{---}}$  with some tiny variations, see 64, 10; 72, 27; 79, 41; 94, 26; the second scribe regularly uses  $\frac{x}{\text{---}}$  (e.g. 72, 39; 73, 8. 11; 98, 4. 10) and this combined evidence leaves no doubt as to the reading *pš n*. The grammatical construction is questionable—*pš* might be a passive participle or an infinitive or, as in Type B below, a short writing of the phrase *m pš* 'in division (for)'. As regards the following —, it seems less suitable to suppose that it is the genitive exponent 'share of', 'division of' than that it is the dative preposition — indicating an interested party. The phrase *pš n* 'allot', 'assign to' with following singular, or 'divide among' with following plural, is common in Late Egyptian, being used especially of inheritance.<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to emphasize the fact that, at least from a *prima facie* point of view, the division in these *pōsh*-entries of Type A is not wholly of the same character as the division characterized above in connexion with the apportioning paragraphs; there the division was presented as a division of land, here the division is one of corn, no mention of area occurring in the same line, but only the word for 'sacks'. The rendering of the introductory words *pš n* which seems least likely to prejudge the nature of the transaction is 'apportioned for' such and such an institution.

(2) *Pōsh*-entries of Type B, confined to the apportioning paragraphs. It is in connexion with these that allusion has more than once been made to a kind of double-entry book-keeping, since it will be found that these entries always refer to precisely the same fields as are involved, under the heading of a different temple or other land-owning institution, in a *pōsh*-entry of Type A. Needless to say, the corresponding *pōsh*-entries of Type A and Type B can occur only in the same Section. As an example of Type B we cannot do better than take the counterpart of the example chosen to illustrate Type A. Together with the paragraph-heading (§ 87) under which the entry occurs—here accidentally and exceptionally in close proximity to it—it may be rendered as follows (37, 30-3):

'THE HOUSE of Osiris, lord of Abydos, the Great God, Ruler of Eternity:

MEASUREMENT made to the north-east of the Village of Inroyshes:

The cultivator Benenka in apportionment of land cultivated for 'The Mansion in the House of Amūn (i.e. Medīnet Habu) (in) the domain (under the authority) of the controller Merymā'e, 10. 2½. *mc.* 1½.'

Owing to the exceptional length of this *pōsh*-entry the original has devoted two lines to it. Note first of all that the heading of the paragraph gives the name of the land-owning institution mentioned in the entry of Type A, and that in the entry of Type B the land-owning institution named is that to which belongs the paragraph where the entry of Type A occurred (§ 64). Secondly, note that the place of measurement is the same in both entries, and lastly, that the first numeral is likewise the same in both. Apart from the insertion of the words 'in apportionment . . . Merymā'e' the entry differs in no respect from countless entries of the apportioning paragraphs: it begins with the name and title of a man and ends with an assessment of which the stereotyped last element, as we saw on p. 55, is the expression 1: i.e. '1½ *mc.*'. This mere statement makes it, if not obvious, at least probable that the additional words 'in apportionment, &c.' vouchsafe the information that the man assessed was assessed, not in his own person, but as agent for the land-owning institution named in the following words. Our sole difficulty lies in finding an appropriate translation for the phrase containing the word *pš*. The formula in Type B differs from that in Type A, not only in the placing of a man's name and title before  $\frac{x}{\text{---}}$ , but also in the invariable presence after it, and between it and the name of the land-owning institution, of the word  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  mentioned (p. 55) as characteristic of the assessments of the non-apportioning paragraphs. Three precious variants due to the second scribe (99, 4. 8; 100, 27) give  $\frac{x}{\text{---}} m pš n$ , which is in part confirmed by two damaged examples (6, 9. 12) written by the first scribe and apparently to be read  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ . The next word is shown by variants discussed later to be  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  'cultivated land'. Accordingly the entire formula *m pš n lht* seems susceptible

<sup>1</sup> See *Wb.* 1, 553, 12 and 14; also my *Inscription of Mes*, p. 12, n. 5.



of the literal translation 'in division for cultivated land of' such and such a temple or the like. The rendering 'in apportionment of land cultivated for' the temple in question conveys what appears to be the meaning better than any other rendering I can suggest.

(3) *Pōsh*-entries of Type C. These occur from time to time in apportioning paragraphs without connexion with adjacent lines,<sup>1</sup> since often they immediately follow an indication of place of measurement (e.g. 17, 9; 37, 23; 45, 18) or even fall between two such (e.g. 23, 30; 95, 31. 33). A characteristic example is 36, 36:

'Apportioned (lit. "divided") for Amūn of the City, (cultivated) by the hand of the slave Tjatj, 10 — 5.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . mc.  $\overline{14}$ .'

The entry opens with  $\frac{x}{\dots}$  as in Type A, but much more often than there the preposition — follows, e.g. 26, 11; 46, 7. 14; 59, 37; 60, 2; 61, 9. Hence it is obvious that interpretation must be on the same lines as in Type A, the main difference being that there the division was one made in terms of corn, whilst here the division is one of land for fiscal purposes. The name following *pš n* is usually that of a local deity, i.e. the name of one of the great gods or goddesses proclaimed as a provincial variety by an accompanying epithet. It seems likely that in all essentials these local deities were treated exactly as private holders of land, and that the sole function of the initial formula *pš n* was to stress their difference of status. This probability is enhanced by three exceptional cases where the *pōsh*-entry of this type is accorded, not to a god, but to an official of the highest rank, the Vizier Neferronpe in 76, 13; 90, 13 and the Despatch-writer of Pharaoh in 36, 41. Very possibly these entries are merely exceptional variants of the ordinary style in which *pš n* is absent and the line begins with the title and name; so of this same Vizier, 92, 27. The *pōsh*-entry in 76, 13 is unique inasmuch as it combines Type C with Type B:

'Apportioned for the Vizier Neferronpe, in apportionment for<sup>2</sup> the cultivator Pipunakhte, 20.  $\overline{1}$ .<sup>3</sup> mc.  $\overline{14}$ .'

The reason why this form was adopted is obscure; in 92, 27 Pipunakhte is mentioned as the agent of the Vizier.

To conclude this discussion of the uses of *pš* as a technical term in the Wilbour papyrus, reference must be made to three examples in Text B. I translate one of them (B 11, 24; the others are 11, 26; 20, 18):<sup>4</sup>

'Region of the Aa'a'-plantation east of Tent-ioor (on) fields belonging to The Mansion in the House of Rēc (i.e. the Heliopolitan temple of Ramesses II); formerly apportioned for ( $\frac{x}{\dots}$ ) Haremhab, the scribe of the Granary of Pharaoh. Arable land, 20 (arouras).'

Text B is an elaborate enumeration of *khato*-lands of Pharaoh, classified under the names of the officials responsible for their yield. The purport of the exceptional comment here added is that the fields here recorded as being *khato*-lands of Pharaoh were formerly 'apportioned for' or 'divided for', i.e. treated for some fiscal or similar purpose as belonging to, the scribe Haremhab. This employment of *pš n* agrees with those studied above, particularly with the use by the second scribe of *ky pš n f* in place of the first scribe's *ky hꜣy n f*. Perhaps, however, the three examples throw more light on the nature of *khato*-lands than on the technical term *pš n*.

The above account is about as far as we can go at present in the elucidation of the term *pš*. It is hoped that the considerations to be set forth on pp. 72 ff., 87 ff. will dispel most of the obscurity that may be still felt as attaching to it.

## 7. Metrology

Our next step must be to discuss the units of measurement employed in the Wilbour papyrus. Of these there are five, three being measures of area and two of capacity. (a) The measures of area present no difficulty. The starting-point was the linear cubit  $\overline{1}$  mh, Coptic  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ , reckoned by Egypto-

<sup>1</sup> It is possibly of some significance that the Setemhab named in the *pōsh*-entry (Type C) 26, 11 appears in the next line as cultivator of a plot of his own. So too 17, 9. 10 and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the signs between *pš* and *ihꜣty* are simply  $\frac{x}{\dots}$ .

<sup>3</sup> To be emended into  $\frac{111}{11}$ , since in *pōsh*-entries of Type B the second numeral is regularly the fourth part of the first.

There is sometimes little difference in the hieratic of this manuscript between the numerals for 1 and 5; [on this point see the Additions and Corrections].

<sup>4</sup> To these might have been added 11, 25. 27, but there an abbreviation is used, the sign for 'ditto' being employed.



logists at 0.523 metres,<sup>1</sup> a fraction over 20.6 inches. The principal measure of area was the  $\frac{1}{100}$  *št*, of which the Ramesside pronunciation may have been *sōte*.<sup>2</sup> This, like its Greek equivalent *ἀρoura*, was conceived of as a square having 100 cubits as the length of each of the sides. Thus the *sōte* or *aroura* was 10,000 sq. cubits or 2,735 sq. metres, equivalent to rather more than two-thirds of an acre (more accurately 0.676) and rather less (strictly 0.65) than two-thirds of the modern Egyptian feddān. In Text A the *aroura* is frequently assumed as the unit of area without explicit mention.<sup>3</sup> It is only in the apportioning paragraphs that the word is sometimes written out, the reason being that many of the fields are there quoted in terms of the lower unit to be mentioned immediately, and it accordingly became necessary, for the sake of clearness, to name the *sōte* when there might be doubt. In the hieratic it is represented by so small and insignificant a group that its reading escaped me until pointed out by Černý; examples will be seen in 17, 38; 33, 18; 34, 19; 48, 46; 49, 5. The lower unit, the  $\frac{1}{100}$  *mlt* 'land-cubit', the *πῆχυς οἰκοπεδικός* of the Greeks,<sup>4</sup> occurs only in apportioning paragraphs and is quite easy to recognize, e.g. 17, 35; 18, 1; 23, 2; 44, 14. 33. This was the one-hundredth part of the *aroura*, equal to 27.35 sq. metres, thus representing a square measuring a little more than 5 metres in each direction; but as Griffith has shown, the Egyptians thought of it as a strip of land 100 cubits in length and 1 cubit in breadth. In a number of entries the 'land-cubit' is employed although the figure exceeds 100; thus we have 100 land-cubits (= 1 *aroura*) in 23, 10; 28, 29; 200 land-cubits (= 2 *arouras*) in 28, 13. 14. 23. 28; and even 500 land-cubits (= 5 *arouras*) in 28, 15. 16; 32, 51.<sup>5</sup> Fractions of the *aroura* are found in Text A only in the first red figure of three-number assessments (below, p. 91); here  $\frac{1}{2}$  is used for  $\frac{1}{2}$  *aroura* (e.g. 17, 25. 31),  $\times$  for  $\frac{1}{4}$  (e.g. 23, 36; 27, 15) and  $\frac{1}{2} \times$  for  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} = \frac{3}{4}$  *aroura* (e.g. 61, 34; 70, 8), and as Černý has pointed out, if any hesitation were to be felt about regarding these as fractions of the *aroura*, this hesitation should be dispelled by the fact that the ordinary fraction for  $\frac{1}{4}$  is in hieratic  $\frac{1}{4}$  with a dot, while the  $\frac{1}{4}$  *aroura* is written without the dot.<sup>6</sup> It seems appropriate to deal with Text B in this place. There  $\frac{1}{100}$  is written clearly in most of the black writing, but sometimes in the red lines takes so abbreviated a form that I have only occasionally transcribed the group, and elsewhere have shown it in approximately its hieratic form; for this inconsistency of treatment see my textual notes B 5, 14<sup>b</sup>; 7, 23<sup>b</sup>. The accompanying figures in the red lines frequently use  $\frac{1}{2}$  for the half *aroura*, e.g. B 11, 30; in the black writing, however, the alternative mode of expression with the hieratic equivalent of  $\frac{1}{2}$ , here substituted for  $\frac{1}{2}$  *rmn*,<sup>7</sup> is twice found, see B 18, 1. 8. The land-cubit is not mentioned in Text B.

(b) **Measures of capacity.** The units employed by the Egyptians for measuring dry goods and liquids varied according to the nature of the commodity to be measured, so that some general remarks on the latter point are called for before we discuss the units themselves. The Wilbour papyrus throws only little light upon the produce of the fields that were surveyed and assessed, but it is at least certain that not all were under corn. In the apportioning paragraphs we shall find evidence that some plots were used for grazing horses (see below, pp. 77 f.), and in the paragraphs dealing with herbage for cattle and food for white goats, although the occupational titles given to the individual holders of land are very far from all being those of herdsmen,<sup>8</sup> yet the latter designation is so much commoner there than elsewhere as to leave no doubt that many of the fields in question were actually used for pasture; see particularly §§ 175. 179. 187. 188. 192.<sup>9</sup> A quite exceptional entry is 49, 4-5, where a Sherden named Piuiu

<sup>1</sup> Mitteis & Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, 1, p. lxxii, gives the cubit at 0.525 m., which brings the 'aroura' (see below) up to 2,756 sq. m.

<sup>2</sup> Found in Coptic, though only once, as  $\epsilon\omega\tau$ . There the common expression is the compound  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\gamma\epsilon$  'field-aroura', corruptions of which appear to be, not only  $\epsilon\tau\omega\gamma\epsilon$  quoted by Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 89, but also  $\epsilon\tau\omega\tau\epsilon$  which he gives on p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> [This statement requires some modification on account of a discovery made only long after my typescript had gone to the printer; see below, Additions and Corrections, *ad init.*].

<sup>4</sup> Mitteis & Wilcken, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> All these examples and others like them occur in places

where only black writing is used, i.e. where presumably there was no assessment.

<sup>6</sup> See Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, p. 61, Nos. 670. 688.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, p. 61, No. 687.

<sup>8</sup> In § 105, a 'herbage' paragraph, out of twenty holders of land not a single one is a herdsman; in § 106 out of thirty-nine there are only five. Of course many holders may have been engaged in grazing without that occupation being their principal one or that by which they were generally known.

<sup>9</sup> However, in § 144 out of fifteen persons named twelve are herdsmen, though the heading contains no hint that the fields were to be used for pasture.



is mentioned as in 'herdsman's territory' (*w-mntw*) belonging to the Theban temple of Ramesses IV. Apart from these indications the only information vouchsafed to us is in 6, x+17; 7, 43. 48; 8, 4, where flax is mentioned, and in 6, x+15; 40, 10; 44, 33, where the fields are said to be 'in vegetables' or 'herbs' ( $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ ). If the assessments refer to taxes or rents of some sort, these may well have been usually paid in the produce of the plot assessed; none the less, as in Ptolemaic times,<sup>1</sup> the assessments themselves were reckoned in corn, which indeed in the Ramesside age shared with metal (gold, silver, or copper) the honour of serving as the recognized standard of value. In Greek and Roman times wheat was taken as the basis, but it appears that in the Pharaonic period the place of wheat was taken by emmer (starch-wheat), see below, p. 70.

Whereas the measures of capacity used in the Middle Kingdom have been studied with care and success, particularly by Griffith, the same does not hold of the New Kingdom. In this assertion I refer solely to published work, for the typescript of an admirable article by Černý, which goes far towards clearing up the Ramesside problems, has long been in my hands and needs only revision by the author before it is printed in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. By Černý's kind permission I am enabled to make extensive use of his results for my book, though the proof of several statements I shall make cannot be given in these pages. It emerges that the most normal form of notation employed in Ramesside hieratic is that which has been illustrated from Eighteenth Dynasty papyri in my *Egyptian Grammar* (p. 199, top). Of this notation the Wilbour papyrus has many good examples, e.g.:

A 20, 23  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  sacks 9, (*oipē*)  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . In the Translation this will be rendered as '9 $\frac{1}{2}$  sacks', which corresponds to 9 $\frac{3}{8}$  sacks in our own mode of notation.

A 20, 30  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  sacks 3, (*oipē*) 3, i.e. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  sacks.

A 16, 37  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  sacks 5, (*oipē*) 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ , i.e. 5 $\frac{2}{8}$  or 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  sacks.

\* A 19, 13  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  sacks (o), (*oipē*) 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ , i.e.  $\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$  of a sack or  $\frac{27}{32}$  of a sack.

The first three of these examples are from *pōsh*-entries of Type A (pp. 57 ff.), while the fourth is from a Harem assessment (p. 55, pp. 108 f.). Of the same kind are the cases found at the end of the first line of many paragraphs of Text B, though there only high integers occur, no fractional parts. Only one measure of capacity is here written, the  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ ,<sup>2</sup> usually rendered 'sack', but perhaps rather a receptacle made of leather, since  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  is sometimes the determinative of the rare phonetic writing.<sup>3</sup> The number of whole 'sacks' is indicated by the ordinary numerals. The dots that may follow (one, two, or three) refer to a lower unit which is not written out, being sufficiently indicated by the substitution of a dot or dots for the ordinary numerals. In Ramesside hieratic the sign  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  used for this measure, so far as the evidence hitherto available goes, is written only when the whole amount is less than 1 sack = 4  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ ; Černý quotes from ostraca examples of  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ , and  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ , i.e. 1, 2 or 3 *oipē*, but these might equally well have been written  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ , &c., i.e. '(o) sacks, 2 (*oipē*)' =  $\frac{2}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$  sack. The measure  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ , the quarter-sack, is that which, if Griffith's researches are to be trusted, in Middle Egyptian is best described as the quadruple *hekat*, but which in Late Egyptian has the new name  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  *ipt*; this new name has survived in the Coptic *oeme*, *ome*, whence the transliteration *oipē* adopted in my renderings above. Fractional parts of the *oipē* are shown by means of the so-called 'eye'-notation, various parts of the sacred eye  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  being taken (highly conventionalized) to represent the various fractions obtained by halving.<sup>4</sup> So far as the Wilbour papyrus is concerned only  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  =  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,<sup>5</sup>  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  =  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  =  $\frac{1}{8}$  *oipē* are of interest. It is perhaps

<sup>1</sup> See Grenfell, Hunt & Smyly, *Tebtunis Papyri*, I, 559.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the reading *hur* there can no longer be any doubt in view of the writing  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  in *P. Edw. Smith*, 21, 10; the Wilbour has new evidence in the place-name  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ , which in B 17, 6 is written as  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ , but in B 19, 29 (the same fields as in A 74, 12) as  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ ; here the  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  is damaged, but scarcely doubtful. Also  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  in the Adoption of Nitocris (*ZAS*, xxxv, 18, l. 24) points to *hur* (y).

<sup>3</sup> Even when *hur* definitely means a measure; in Menephtah's great Karnak inscription, l. 46, it is said that the uncircumcised members and hands of the Libyan dead were brought

$\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$  'in *hur*-measures and *mtl*-measures'; the translation, often hitherto misconceived, is beyond a doubt, in spite of the inappropriateness of the determinatives of both words.

<sup>4</sup> See my *Egyptian Grammar*, § 266, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> For the reversed form of the sign for  $\frac{1}{4}$  in hieratic, in its pictorial origin properly  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ , see my *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 3a, n. 8a. In the Plates of transcription to the present work the form of the sign for  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a quarter sack is given the wrong shape (19, 13; 43, 8 only); it is properly the eyebrow  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ , but at Medinet Habu is usually assimilated to the horn  $\overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{C}} \text{ } \overline{\text{D}} \text{ } \overline{\text{E}} \text{ } \overline{\text{F}} \text{ } \overline{\text{G}} \text{ } \overline{\text{H}} \text{ } \overline{\text{I}} \text{ } \overline{\text{J}} \text{ } \overline{\text{K}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \text{ } \overline{\text{M}} \text{ } \overline{\text{N}} \text{ } \overline{\text{O}} \text{ } \overline{\text{P}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{R}} \text{ } \overline{\text{S}} \text{ } \overline{\text{T}} \text{ } \overline{\text{U}} \text{ } \overline{\text{V}} \text{ } \overline{\text{W}} \text{ } \overline{\text{X}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Y}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Z}}$ . See the Additions and Corrections, Pl. 73 (A).







200 and 500 land-cubits were found, though these might have been expressed as 1, 2 and 5 arouras respectively. In the Harris papyrus high numbers as well as low are encountered following ϣ, e.g. 14 in 53, a, 11; 310 in 19, a, 13; 8,985 in 19, b, 1; 23,000 in 36, b, 7, and no one has disputed that ϣ here stands for oipē or has denied that the figures are to be taken at face value as referring to that unit. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that the oipē is employed in the Harris only for fruit, seed, gum and the like, while amounts of corn are always given in terms of the sack ⋈, once or twice with fractions expressed by dots (oipē) and by a sign of the ‘eye’-notation used in the usual way, e.g. ∴▷ 37, b, 12; ∴▷ 54, a, 11.<sup>1</sup> The only place where a fraction accompanies figures in Harris attached to the sign ϣ is in 65, b, 11; here the sign for half-oipē drawn from the ‘eye’-notation is used, and since there are no cases with intervening dots which might induce us to take the 87 as referring to sacks in spite of the preceding ϣ, we can hardly do otherwise than render the item as ‘Fruit, 87½ oipē’.

If, then, hieratic sometimes employs the ordinary signs for the cardinal numbers to convey quantities of *oipē* above 4, it is natural that this practice should occasionally have been extended to quantities less than 4 *oipē*. Accordingly, when Černý, in his already much-used unpublished article, quotes a few rare writings from ostraca or papyri like  $\text{𐤎}|\text{𐤎}$ ,  $\text{𐤎}|||$ ,  $\text{𐤎}|||$ , he not unreasonably interprets these to mean  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , 3 and 5 *oipē* respectively. However, the Wilbour papyrus confronts us with a difficulty of an entirely different order. Here, in writings like  $\text{𐤎}||$ ,  $\text{𐤎}|||$ ,  $\text{𐤎}^{\circ\circ}|||$ , on the assumption that the ordinary cardinals represent amounts of *oipē*, the half-*oipē* is indicated by the two dots which elsewhere in Text A represent two *oipē* or half a sack; we are left asking ourselves why the ordinary sign  $\text{𐤎}$  drawn from the 'eye'-notation has not been used. This arouses in the mind of the Egyptologist a suspicion which to those unacquainted with the eccentricities of Egyptian mathematical notation might well seem absolutely fantastic: Is it not possible that, in spite of the initial sign for *oipē*, the writing  $\text{𐤎}||$  might mean 1 (sack) and 2 *oipē*, i.e. 6 *oipē*, and that similarly  $\text{𐤎}|||$  might mean 7 sacks and 2 *oipē* = 30 *oipē*? The mode of expression would be somewhat analogous to our *one and sixpence*, when we mean one shilling and sixpence. That the ordinary cardinals in Egyptian might come to possess a value different from the apparent value is illustrated by Middle Egyptian writings like  $|\text{𐤎}=\text{𐤎}::$  for  $1(\times 100) + \frac{1}{2}(\times 100) + 1(\times 10) + 6 \text{ hekat} = 166 \text{ hekat}$ , or like  $\text{𐤎}^{\circ\circ}||| \text{𐤎} 48(\times 100) = 4,800 \text{ hekat}$ .<sup>2</sup> On this analogy it is conceivable that when, in the Wilbour, we find the ordinary signs for the hundreds, tens and units following  $\text{𐤎}$  we might have either to interpret the number in question in terms of the sack  $\text{𐤎}$ , or else, what comes to the same thing, to multiply it by four in order to understand it in terms of the *oipē*.

But it is one thing to admit such a possibility, and another to prove it the correct view. We are here, however, not without some remarkable corroborative evidence. The most important comes from a much damaged leather roll acquired by the Louvre only a few years ago.<sup>3</sup> This Ramesside document shows the word *hry* 'to measure' in a nearly invisible heading, and careful inspection revealed the fact that it contained assessments of holdings in land closely akin to those of the Wilbour papyrus. A long list of private holders, whose names and occupations are given, ends each line with a varying area of land in units and fractions of the aroura, followed by the invariable rate of assessment  $\text{ⲙⲓ}$ : '1 $\frac{2}{3}$  sacks'. It is very tempting to identify these 1 $\frac{2}{3}$  sacks with the  $\text{ⲙⲓ}$ : '1 $\frac{2}{3}$  mc.' equally invariable in the apportioning paragraphs of the Wilbour papyrus. It is surely unlikely that in the course of a few reigns—the date of the leather roll is uncertain—the rate of assessment should have been reduced to exactly a quarter, and the recurrence of the same figures  $\text{ⲙⲓ}$  in both documents looks significant. But that is not all. Černý himself, in the article already cited, quotes some strange facts clearly relevant to our problem. I reproduce his concluding paragraph verbatim:

<sup>4</sup> The fourfold multiple of an *ipt*, the ꝥ, was a masculine word. There are, however, examples where ꝥ is preceded by the feminine article, namely ꝥ ꝥ: Pleyte and Rossi, *Pap. Turin*, 157, 2 and ꝥ ꝥ<sup>4</sup> Ostr. Petrie 34, vs. 2.<sup>5</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> Erichsen's transcription gives a reference to Möller, but does not itself give an interpretation of these expressions for  $\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{2} = \frac{3}{8}$  and  $\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{4} = \frac{3}{16}$  of a sack respectively.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Egyptian Grammar*, § 266 (p. 198).

<sup>2</sup> See *JEA*, xxvii, 70 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Here either  $\circ$  or  $\succ$  is a correction and to be thought of as meant to replace the other.

<sup>5</sup> [Since the above was written, *P. Valençay No. 1*, an interesting letter that will be found translated below in the Postscript, has furnished a new example of the sign for 'sack' accompanied by a fraction of the *oipē*; the words  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\text{ff}$   $\text{▷}$  (vs. 11) can best be rendered 'a single half-*oipē*', though what is written is '(o) sacks,  $\frac{1}{2}$  (*oipē*)'].







or *khar* as equivalent to 2 bushels (= 72.68 litres), that rough approximation will serve well enough for any consideration of probabilities in which we may have to indulge.

How do these figures compare with the values attached by the papyrologists to the Graeco-Roman artaba and its subdivision the choinix? The *oipē* remained in use until Byzantine times, but with much-diminished capacity.<sup>1</sup> The word artaba is of Persian origin, but the fact that one of its fluctuating values in the Graeco-Roman period was 40 choinices, combined with the fact that the word *χολύξ* has much the same meaning as the Egyptian *hin* 'vessel', makes it reasonably certain that, so far as capacity goes, the artaba took over the old value of the *oipē*. Wilcken, in his *Grundzüge* (I, lxviii) mentions for the Ptolemaic period artabas of 40, 30, 29, 26 and 24 choinices, and remarks that 'the constant unit was not, as formerly believed, the *artabē*, but the *choinix*, the *artabē* being obtained from multiples of the latter'. The truth of this seems obvious, but if so, we are surprised to find the choinix taken by papyrologists as equivalent to about 1 litre, i.e. about 2 Egyptian *hin*.<sup>2</sup> Actual specimens of measures marked in *hin* are still, as we have seen, extant from the Ptolemaic period, and since the *hin* and the choinix were contemporary, we should have expected them to be of identical capacity. It would be worth while inquiring whether there is any demotic evidence bearing upon the point.

## 8. The non-apportioning paragraphs; detailed account

### a. The words introducing the assessments

In the preceding pages a preliminary account has been given of the actual assessments of the non-apportioning paragraphs, and our next task is to analyse the words by which those assessments are introduced. At the same time consideration will be given to the remaining matter with which the non-apportioning paragraphs may be filled, though a detailed discussion of the *pōsh*-entries of Type A must be reserved for sub-section c below (pp. 72 f.). It will clear the ground to deal first with the only other kind of entry that can occur between two successive lines of localization and which may occasionally swell the number of entries to three or even four. We have seen (p. 55) that extremely often two lines of localization are separated only by a single line giving the number of arouras cultivated and the rate and amount of the assessment. Of this simple type are (e.g.) §§ 15. 99, the former containing nine, and the latter seven, such single-line assessments without further complications; § 16 has sixteen assessments in all, and of these only one possesses a *pōsh*-entry. It must not be imagined, however, that this is the normal or exclusive form of non-apportioning paragraph. Some are very short, perhaps containing only one assessment either accompanied (e.g. §§ 71. 113) or unaccompanied (§§ 72. 170) by a *pōsh*-entry. Rare cases are found where every (§§ 219. 274) or nearly every (§ 223) line of assessment has its own *pōsh*-entry of Type A (pp. 57 f.). But apart from such a single accompanying *pōsh*-entry the only addition possible in non-apportioning paragraphs is a further assessment introduced by *ky* 'another', or two assessments thus introduced. This word *ky*, on account of its analogon in the apportioning paragraphs (above, p. 56), is probably to be understood as 'another measurement'. Such an additional line (or two lines) occurs only when the fields measured at a particular place were assessed partly at one rate and partly at another. It was pointed out (p. 62) that there were only three rates of assessment, namely at 5,  $7\frac{1}{4}$  and 10 measures of corn *per* aroura, so that the lines introduced by *ky* can never exceed two. The higher rate of assessment precedes the lower, and the *pōsh*-entry, if any, comes at the end and is calculated on the sum of the two or three amounts of corn resulting from the combined assessments. An example will make these statements clear:

A 34, 3-8. 'MEASUREMENT made in the *parē*-land east of the Village of Djasasati:

Land cultivated by the cultivator Penhasi 50, mc. 10, mc. 500

Another (measurement) 30, mc.  $7\frac{1}{4}$ , mc. 225

Another 30, mc. 5, mc. 150

Apportioned for the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, (in the) domain of the Nome,<sup>3</sup> sacks, 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

MEASUREMENT made in &c.'

<sup>1</sup> For the Greek *olphi* Skeat refers me to Segrè, *Metrologia*, 36-7; P. London 1718, introduction (pp. 158-9). He also quotes Hesychius as making the *olphi* equal to 4 *χολύκες*, and Segrè as

putting the Byzantine 'great *oipē*' at  $\frac{1}{3}$ , and the 'small *oipē*' at  $\frac{1}{4}$ , of the artaba of 40 choinices.

<sup>2</sup> Mitteis & Wilcken, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 39.







employ  $\text{ⲙⲓⲙⲓⲙⲓ}$ .<sup>1</sup> The natural tendency is to refer the pronoun of this 'land cultivated by him' to the person named in the first assessment-line. A means of control is provided by the *pōsh*-entries of Type B. From the already quoted (pp. 57 f.) examples of such entries of both types, Type A and Type B, it will be seen that the same fields and the same cultivation of them are referred to in corresponding entries under separate headings, and so we may well expect the same cultivator in both cases of this double book-keeping. This expectation is fulfilled in the case of the cultivator Benenka mentioned in 29, 33 = 37, 32; other exactly similar examples are in §§ 41 (19, 40 = 16, 16); 67 (30, 12 = 37, 35); 108 (42, 38 = 38, 18); 126 (49, 30 = 52, 32; 49, 34 = 55, 33); so too when the name of the person in charge of the land has his name introduced by  $\text{ⲙⲓⲙⲓⲙⲓ}$ , e.g. the prophet Wennofrē in § 114 (43, 18 = 40, 7).<sup>2</sup> It may, moreover, rarely have happened that a difference of name was due to mere scribal carelessness; this seems probable, for instance, in 53, 38 = 45, 28, where Type A gives 'the scribe Setnakhte' and Type B 'the scribe Setemhab'. If, then, the pronoun in  $\text{ⲙⲓⲙⲓⲙⲓ}$  really refers to the cultivator mentioned in the first assessment-line, any *pōsh*-entry of Type B corresponding to an entry with that pronoun ought, we might suppose, likewise to mention the cultivator of the first assessment-line, and this it actually does in certain cases, e.g. in § 60, where the first assessment-line (29, 5) has 'the cultivator Amennakhte', for which we find 'Amenpnakhte', only a slight variant, in the corresponding *pōsh*-entry (24, 15); lower down § 60 has a half-destroyed, but certain,  $\text{ⲙⲓⲙⲓⲙⲓ}$  (29, 9), and for this again the corresponding *pōsh*-entry (24, 35) has Amenpnakhte.<sup>3</sup> Still more striking confirmation is found in § 127, where the two final *pōsh*-entries corresponding to  $\text{ⲙⲓⲙⲓⲙⲓ}$  have the same 'controller' (here *rwḏw*, not *ihwty* 'cultivator') as was named with the title 'cultivator' in the first assessment-line and as occurred with the title 'controller' immediately before in the sub-sub-heading. In § 168 there are two cases of agreement, if we admit, as doubtless we must, that the priest Setkha<sup>c</sup> is the same as the cultivator Setkha<sup>c</sup>, but in a third case (64, 18 = 62, 23) we find substituted a priest Nakhtset. Somewhat similarly in § 201, where the pronoun in 72, 38 is shown by 46, 38 to refer to the cultivator Pkhōri in 72, 36; later on in the paragraph, however, there is testimony of a conflicting nature, compare 73, 8 with 46, 3. The student must be left to search for further evidence of the kind, and I will now turn to a slightly different class of paragraphs, in which the same expectation is fulfilled in a considerable number of cases. Many non-apportioning paragraphs have no name in the first assessment-line, but there use the introductory word with the suffix-pronoun. In such paragraphs it is natural to suppose the suffix-pronoun to refer to the responsible priest or officer mentioned in the heading or sub-heading, and this is confirmed in several cases, e.g. §§ 71 (33, 3 = 38, 20); 216 (76, 46 = 87, 8);<sup>4</sup> the most impressive examples are § 219 and § 274, of which the former has corresponding to it in apportioning paragraphs five *pōsh*-entries of Type B all with the name of the 'controller Amenemhab' who was mentioned in its sub-heading,<sup>5</sup> while the latter has similarly corresponding to it three *pōsh*-entries with the name of the 'soldier Khons'.<sup>6</sup> This evidence suffices to show that my argumentation is along the right lines, though contrary evidence exists in plenty. Among the contrary evidence I will

<sup>1</sup> The exceptions to this custom are not very important, apart from the cases discussed below where the formula with suffix-pronoun occurs in every one of the assessment-lines. Sometimes a different cultivator or man in some other occupation is mentioned farther down in the paragraph, see §§ 10. 58. 67. 92. 126. One paragraph is unique in this respect (§ 135); here the first and third assessment-lines name the cultivator Pkamen, while the second and fourth mention distinct standard-bearers of the Sherden, there being no assessment-line with pronoun at all. Somewhat similarly § 67, but here only two persons are named.

<sup>2</sup> An exceptionally interesting example is that of the cultivator Hōri in 2, x+12, a *pōsh*-entry of Type B. Here the name is restored, but the space suits exactly, and confirmation is afforded by the two *pōsh*-entries (2, x+14. 15) immediately following, where the name has obviously been replaced by the cursively written pronoun *f*. The proof is provided by the three corresponding *pōsh*-entries of Type A, where the identical place of measurement (to be restored in 2, x+11) and the identical land-

owning institution furnish the unifying factors. Of these three *pōsh*-entries of Type A 19, 44 (= 2, x+12) has *ihṯ ihwty Hri*; 19, 8 (= 2, x+15) has *ihṯ m-drt ihwty Hri*; and 20, 22 (= 2, x+14) has *ihṯ f*, where the suffix clearly refers back to *ihwty Hri* in 20, 18. Incidentally the identical land-owning institution in these same three *pōsh*-entries reveals the lost heading of § 3A.

<sup>3</sup> Some signs are restored in both the parallel passages, but no one will, I imagine, dispute the restorations.

<sup>4</sup> Here the name is not found, but *ky hry* 'another measurement' refers back to the name in 87, 6.

<sup>5</sup> References for § 219: 78, 30 = 87, 29; 78, 33 = 100, 27; 78, 36 = 88, 6; 78, 39 = 93, 18; 78, 42 = 95, 40.

<sup>6</sup> References for § 274: 101, 2 = 99, 4; 101, 5 = 85, 34; 101, 8 = 90, 24. In the *pōsh*-entries of Type B the title 'cultivator' is substituted for the title of 'soldier' in the sub-heading, with reference, of course, to the function he is found exercising in those *pōsh*-entries.



not reckon paragraphs where neither in the lines of assessment nor in the heading or sub-heading is there any mention of a person, and where consequently the pronoun of  $\text{C} \sim$ , if really referring to a man, remains suspended in mid-air without any support; examples are §§ 167. 169. 170. 263, for the first and last of which names of cultivators are given in *pōsh*-entries of Type B (64, 3 = 45, 11; 98, 19 = 91, 30). On the basis of these the conjecture might be hazarded that the pronoun of  $\text{C} \sim$  does not belong to a person at all, but refers rather to the temple or other land-owning institution named in the heading, so that we should have to translate, not 'land cultivated by him' but 'land cultivated by (or "for") it'. To such a conjecture there are insuperable objections: first, some of the land-owning institutions have feminine names, to which the masculine  $\sim$  could not refer; and second, the assessment-lines with the pronoun would then no longer be on a par with those naming a cultivator; and lastly, it would be inexplicable why it is almost exclusively the first assessment-line that so often names a person. Cases where the pronoun is found after  $\text{C} \sim$ , though no cultivator is actually named in the first assessment-line, or person in authority mentioned in the heading, are probably to be explained as mere bureaucratic carelessness; no doubt the scribe who wrote the papyrus, or the official who instructed him, knew perfectly well who was meant; the pronoun refers to a person, but the desirability of mentioning his name has been overlooked.

Now I must hark back to the contrary evidence which might be cited to prove that the pronoun in  $\text{C} \sim$  does not refer to the person named in the first assessment-line. A troublesome case is § 223 referring to fields belonging to the temple of Medīnet Habu and administered by the controller Amene-muia. Here there are eight examples of  $\text{C} \sim$  of which seven are accompanied by a *pōsh*-entry, and in six cases the corresponding *pōsh*-entry in the apportioning paragraph is well preserved. In not a single one of the latter does the name of Amenemuia occur at the beginning of the entry, though it does so at the end, after the word *rmnyt*; four times we have a cultivator named P'onrōme (if that be the right reading), and in the other cases cultivators named Dhutemhab and Amenkha<sup>c</sup>. Again § 257 has no name in the first assessment-line and its heading shows that it refers to fields standing under the authority of the prophet Ptaḥmosē, compare 94, 15 with 94, 9. In this paragraph there are seven examples of  $\text{C} \sim$ , of which the last three have corresponding to them *pōsh*-entries naming the cultivators Pbēs and Penernūte and the priest Ḥanofre respectively. For this reason, it might be argued, the suffix in these last three examples cannot possibly refer to Ptaḥmose. But further consideration will show that such an argument is not valid. To whomsoever or whatsoever the suffix-pronoun here refers, it is obvious that it must refer to the same person or thing, and that consequently there are at least two of these three persons to whom it cannot refer. We may generalize from these examples to the effect that though a *pōsh*-entry of Type B often does name the same person as is meant by the suffix-pronoun in the assessment-line immediately preceding the corresponding *pōsh*-entry of Type A, there is no absolute necessity that it should do so, and when it fails to do so, that fact cannot be used to prove that the suffix-pronoun does not refer to the man named in the first assessment-line or to someone named in the heading or sub-heading. This argument is even more cogently reinforced by a few cases where the first assessment-line names a cultivator and has a *pōsh*-entry of Type A attached to it, and where the corresponding *pōsh*-entry of Type B names a different person. For example, § 253 has only one assessment-line, and this mentions a cultivator named Ḥōri; the corresponding *pōsh*-entry, however, replaces him by a cultivator Bensuemopē (90, 23); exactly similar instances occur in §§ 61. 235.

Reviewing all the facts above adduced, we may conclude that there is no serious reason for disbelieving that the suffix-pronoun in  $\text{C} \sim$  refers to the person mentioned in the first assessment-line, where such a person is found, or for refusing, when there is none such, to take the pronoun as referring to someone named in the heading or sub-heading of a paragraph. But we must consider carefully the implications of such an inference. In § 16, as we saw on p. 65, sixteen assessments occur and each one of these is concerned with fields in a different place. The total number of arouras is only 176, i.e. about 120 acres. Unless these were widely separated, there is no difficulty in supposing all to have been farmed by the cultivator named in the first assessment-line. But very possibly the places in



question were widely separated, and it appears to me that this interpretation is not the only one possible. May it not be that the function of the cultivator mentioned in the first assessment-line was to supervise or assist in the collection, or alternatively in the assessment, of the taxes of a particular land-owning institution in the whole district covered by a section of the papyrus?<sup>1</sup> In other words, he would act as a sort of local representative of the official (often a *rwḏw* 'controller') mentioned in the sub-heading of a paragraph. This hypothesis seems borne out by the fact that, as we have seen, occasionally no cultivator is mentioned in the first assessment-line, so that the pronoun that takes the place of such a man does, to all appearance, refer to a 'controller' in the heading, if not to some even higher functionary. On the other hand, the persons named in the *pōsh*-entries of Type B, since they are there placed on an equality with individual holders of land, will presumably have been the actual farmers of the plots in question, though farming not on their own behalf, but on behalf of the land-owning institution specified in the accompanying words.<sup>2</sup>

No doubt our material is insufficient for certainty to be obtained in respect of the above suggestions, but there are one or two paragraphs which harmonize with them remarkably well. In § 77, referring to the temple founded by Ramesses III at Na-t-ḥō, the responsible official mentioned in the sub-heading is the controller Nebwedjfa and the first assessment-line gives the cultivator Penḥasi; in the *pōsh*-entry of Type B corresponding to that assessment-line we find, not Penḥasi, but Nebwedjfa, but in those *pōsh*-entries corresponding to the fourth, fifth and sixth assessment-lines, these showing  $\text{C} \sim \sim \sim$  like the second and third, the person named is the cultivator Penḥasi of the first assessment-line.<sup>3</sup> This state of affairs seems at least to indicate some parallelism of function between the person named in the first assessment-line and the controller named in the sub-heading. Somewhat similarly, in § 79, the first assessment-line names a cultivator Pbēs, and the others use the formula with suffix-pronoun; there are three corresponding *pōsh*-entries of Type B, one of them corresponding to the first assessment-line, and all these *pōsh*-entries name, not Pbēs, but the controller Pḥenu in the sub-heading.<sup>4</sup> A rather different case occurs in § 39, the sole paragraph referring to a Royal Harem which has assessments of a normal non-apportioning kind. The sub-heading mentions the controller Penḥasi—there is no reason for identifying him with the cultivator of the same common name in § 77; the first assessment-line gives the cultivator Amenha. Of the following assessment-lines, all using the suffix-pronoun, only one (19, 26) has preserved in the Wilbour a corresponding *pōsh*-entry, and this (16, 31) shows, neither Amenha nor Penḥasi, but the 'deputy Meryrē'. From § 48 it seems highly probable that this man was a superior of both the others, being deputy to the governor of the Harem of Mi-wēr, whose official title was Overseer of the King's Apartments.

We must now leave the somewhat inconclusive problem that has occupied the last few pages, and turn to other matters in connexion with the none too numerous persons mentioned in the non-apportioning assessment-lines. It has been seen that the title usually assigned to them is  $\text{C} \sim \sim \sim$  'cultivator', and this title has clearly always thus much justification that in the assessment-lines the bearer is of course actually concerning himself with agriculture. What is not clear, however, is whether some of these 'cultivators' are not identical with persons of the same name bearing different titles elsewhere. At all events, it has already (p. 67) been made highly probable that the 'cultivator' Dḥutmosē in the first assessment-line 49, 44 is identical with the 'controller' (*rwḏw*) of that name in the sub-sub-heading to the same paragraph (§ 127), and the same thought suggests itself with regard to Amenemuia in 22, 10 as compared with 22, 8; likewise the Nebwedjfa who is a 'cultivator' in § 78 is surely the 'controller' whom we encountered in discussing § 77.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the Huy given as 'cultivator' in 72, 26 is

<sup>1</sup> It must be noted that not only does one and the same cultivator appear sometimes in several paragraphs of the same section (e.g. Section I, Sebknakhte, §§ 13, 15, 24, 46; Section II, Pbēs, §§ 66, 79; Penḥasi, §§ 77, 109), but also one and the same appears sometimes in more than one section (e.g. Sections I, II, Perē, §§ 26, 51; Sections II, III, Setkhat, §§ 52, 92, 168). But especially in the latter case it is impossible to be sure that two persons of identical name were not meant.

<sup>2</sup> This conclusion is confirmed, as we shall see on p. 77, by

the fact that a *pōsh*-entry of Type B is twice followed by another entry mentioning the same man as cultivating land on his own behalf in the very same place.

<sup>3</sup> The references in question are: 1st a.-l., 34, 4 = 24, 21; 4th a.-l., 34, 13 = 26, 7; 5th a.-l., 34, 16 = 26, 9; 6th a.-l., 34, 19 = 26, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Relevant references: 1st a.-l., 34, 31 = 31, 43; 2nd a.-l., 34, 34 = 31, 47; 4th a.-l., 34, 39 = 28, 11.

<sup>5</sup> A god Amūn Neb-wedjfa is named in 23, 30. Did the con-



doubtless identical with the 'prophet' of Sēth of Spermeru in the heading of the same paragraph (§ 199).

The title of 'cultivator', though the title that is commonest in the first line of assessment and also in any later line that may introduce a name instead of the pronoun, is not the only one found in these places. None the less, as simple genitive in place of *ihwty* of the formula  $\text{C} \dots \text{C} \dots \text{N}$ , other titles are rare; we have that of 'prophet' in 39, 41; that of 'bee-keeper' in 25, 47; 29, 15; that of 'servant' (*sdmw*) in 25, 28, and reference has previously been made to the 'deputy' of the Governor of the Harem at Mi-wēr in 21, 6. When a title other than that of 'cultivator' is used it is normally introduced by  $\text{C} \dots \text{A} \dots$  'land cultivated by the hand of N', and I think this may sometimes signify that the function of *ihwty* 'cultivator', whatever exactly that may imply, has been delegated to someone whose normal occupation was not quite that occupation. The number of 'scribes' mentioned in this way is remarkable; the title of 'scribe' introduced by  $\text{A} \dots$  'by the hand of' occurs in the first assessment-line of no less than nine paragraphs (§§ 56. 58. 129. 131. 136. 210. 217. 230. 262). However, six times it is a 'cultivator' that is ushered in by this formula (§§ 34. 35. 37. 235. 250. 261), and I fail to see any reason for this divergence from the method usual in the case of cultivators. The other designations found after  $\text{A} \dots$  are 'Sherden' (§§ 67. 101. 135 [2]. 172), 'prophet' (§§ 40. 62. 114), 'priest' (§§ 10. 94), 'quartermaster' (*wrtw*, §§ 110.<sup>2</sup> 115, the same man), 'stable-master' (§§ 132. 137), and finally there is a 'deputy of the overseer of cattle' (§ 111). It is, of course, also possible that the formula with  $\text{A} \dots$  was, for all practical purposes, identical with that where the genitive was used.<sup>3</sup> Here it would be useless to speculate further on questions for answering which we have insufficient evidence.

#### b. The actual assessments

The principal facts with regard to these were explained in the course of our metrological discussion (p. 62), and it would be useless to repeat them. That the first figure signifies an area in arouras (*sōte*) is made certain by *pōsh*-references of Type B, in which the first figure, identical always with that in the corresponding assessment of a non-apportioning paragraph, is sometimes preceded by the word *sōte*, e.g. 37, 36 = 30, 12; 56, 3 = 72, 22; 85, 35 = 101, 5. The difficult problem relating to the unit used in the rate of assessment and in the product obtained by multiplication has been sufficiently ventilated already. The multiplication of the area by the rate of assessment has been effected with great accuracy, and I have not noted any mistakes. In more than a dozen cases the figures are written in black instead of red, e.g. 5, x+4. 6; 9, 5; 11, 25; 12, 38; a few times (9, 11; 63, 22; 99, 17; 100, 15) the scribe has subsequently added the same signs in red beside the black ones. In my notes on the text I have hinted that the assessments in black were due simply to carelessness, but we must not overlook the possibility that they were intentional. There is nothing to favour the supposition that such black assessments represented amounts in abeyance or requiring further checking. In two places (5, x+7; 34, 9) only the number of arouras is given, and this in black; but before it the ordinary formula is replaced by 'Cultivated land found dry'. Similarly, beside one completed assessment of 60 arouras (34, 19) a marginal remark 'dry, 20 arouras' is added in small writing. These last entries seem to indicate that the assessment was made soon after the flood had subsided, though, as we have seen on p. 10, this natural and indeed almost necessary assumption does not harmonize with the season of the survey as calculated from the dates at the beginning of the sections.

To return to the question of red and black writing, a new possibility is opened out by my recent discovery that in various papyri and ostraca relating to corn from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasties red ink was employed to indicate  $\text{A} \dots$  'emmer', 'starch-wheat', Coptic *ḥwre*, a poor cereal of which the scientific name is *Triticum dicoccum*, while black ink was employed for  $\text{A} \dots$  *it-m-it* or more concisely  $\text{A} \dots$  *it* 'barley', Coptic *eiwt*.<sup>4</sup> The serious difficulty that arises in attempting to apply

troller take his name from the deity, or did he dedicate a shrine to Amūn where the deity derived his epithet from the donor? Or were god and official completely independent of one another?

<sup>1</sup> For this see below, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Before a Harem assessment.

<sup>3</sup> In § 114 the same prophet Wennofrē is introduced by *m-drt* as in § 99 was introduced as a genitive.

<sup>4</sup> See *JEA*, xxvii, 26-8. In that article the English translation was unfortunately given as 'spelt' instead of 'emmer', which is the true equivalent of *Triticum dicoccum*; Wainwright refers me



this observation to the Wilbour papyrus lies in the fact that of the three red figures in the non-apportioning paragraphs and of the two in the apportioning paragraphs the first clearly designates an area in arouras, not corn of any sort whatsoever. I incline therefore to believe that in Text A of the Wilbour papyrus red ink for numbers was intended merely to indicate those numbers which had real importance for fiscal purposes. On this view, we must probably revert to the hypothesis of carelessness in places where black figures replace those usually found in red.

[illegible]

The interpretation of the assessments will naturally have to take into account the productiveness of the Egyptian fields, and with regard to this I have been fortunate enough to obtain first-hand expert information from Mr. J. F. G. Hopkins, who writes as follows:<sup>2</sup>

'Wheat: Lower Egypt. Good land. 6 ardebs.

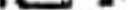

" " " Poor land. 3 ardebs.

'On converted Basin lands I have known in Upper Egypt a feddān to produce up to 8 ardebs, but the average is 5 ardebs.

'With regard to barley, there is practically none grown in Upper Egypt, in Lower Egypt the yield can be said to be, on good land, 6 ardebs and on poor land 2 to 3 ardebs.'

In all the documents I have recently studied relating to the taxation and transport of corn in the New Kingdom it is quite evident that *bdt* 'emmer' was the principal cereal concerned, though *it-m-it* 'barley' is often mentioned beside it in smaller quantities, the amounts of each being sometimes added together as though both were equal in value—which, however, as is shown by the material collected by Černý,<sup>3</sup> was by no means actually the case. Here we have no choice but to make the bold assumptions that the yield of spelt and barley was identical with that of wheat, and that the productiveness of the land was the same in ancient as in modern times. Now the modern Egyptian ardeb<sup>4</sup> = 5.4474 bushels = 198 litres, and the feddān, as previously noted, is just a fraction more than an English acre, strictly = 1.038 acres = 4,200.83 sq. metres. Taking, then, the average yield of any of these cereals to be 5 ardebs *per* feddān, with upper and lower limits at 8 and 3 ardebs respectively, we obtain, on the basis of the old Egyptian measures as estimated above, pp. 59 ff.,<sup>5</sup> a yield of 36 *oipē* as the average *per* aroura (*sōte*), possibly rising to 58 *oipē* or sinking as low as 22 *oipē*. If then we take the figures

to his *Sky-religion*, p. 12. So too P. McConnell's *Agricultural Notebook*, 11th ed., p. 194, under the heading 'Wheat' renders *Triticum dicoccum* as Starch wheat or emmer, reserving the name Spelt wheat or Dinkel for *Triticum spelta* [unknown in Egypt], whereas the Latin designation of common or soft wheat is *Triticum sativum* or *vulgare*. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 45-6, gives as the meanings of ḥwte *durah* (Arab. دُرَّة) and ὄλυρα. It seems, however, generally agreed now that *durah* (*Sorghum vulgare*, Indian millet) was unknown in Ancient Egypt. For the literature of the subject see Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 31-2; F. Hartmann, *L'Agriculture dans l'ancienne Égypte*, 48-53; various articles by Schulz quoted in Peet, *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 114, n. 1; and for ὄλυρα 'spelt' (is 'emmer' meant? see last note) Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 98, n. 4.

<sup>1</sup> The usual word for 'collecting' taxes is  *Id.*, e.g. *P. Chester Beatty V*, 8, 1. Note the same abbreviation also within the so-called Harem assessments, see pp. 108 f. Lastly, in *P. Anast. VI*, 26, mention is made of 'the two scribes of the army ', who take the assessment'; it is quite obscure what the last phrase means, but the

abbreviation  $\overline{y}$  might stand for  $iy$  almost as easily as for  $iy$ .

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to Lady Lyons, who was kind enough to obtain the information for me. Wilkinson, in his *Topography of Thebes*, p. 268, puts the mean at 4 ardebs instead of 5; his statement runs: 'Eight ardebs of wheat are still considered the maximum produce of a feddán, while four and one are the mean and minimum; but in all cases half an ardeb suffice to sow it, and this *taqawwe* is borrowed from the government, and restored in quantity and kind by the peasant at harvest time; but the produce depends of course on the quality of the soil, or the height of the inundation, and the maximum of some lands is only five ardebs to a feddán.'

<sup>3</sup> *Fluctuations in Grain Prices during the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, in *Archiv Orientalní*, vi, 173 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The name goes back, of course, to the Graeco-Roman artaba, but the capacity has, on the highest estimate of the latter, increased fivefold.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. taking the aroura (*sōte*) at  $\frac{3}{4}$  feddān, and the sack at 2 bushels. I calculate as follows: 5 ardeb = 27.237 bushels = 217.9 gallons *per* feddān = 145 gallons = 18½ bushels = 9¼ sacks *per* aroura.



given in the rate of assessment as reckoned in *oipē*, the assessment at 5 *oipē* will have been roughly  $\frac{1}{7}$  of the yield, but  $\frac{1}{11}$  when the return was very great and  $\frac{1}{4}$  when it was very poor. If, however, the figures in the assessments are to be taken as referring to sacks, the ordinary rate of 5 sacks would mean an assessment at more than half the yield.

At this stage I shall make no further comment, but shall proceed to summarize the facts with regard to the size of the fields assessed. Of the nearly five hundred plots measured in the non-apportioning paragraphs none is smaller than 1 aroura, and none larger than 80 arouras. Great preference is shown for plots of 5, 10 and 20 arouras; of plots of above 40 arouras the number is very small. I here set forth the results of my count, which may perhaps require some slight modification as the result of re-collation, restoration of lacunae, and so forth, but at all events gives an approximately accurate picture of the truth; where the occurrences number less than 5, precise references are given in the footnotes.

arouras:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	12
number:	5	29	14	5	73	6	8	14	4 <sup>1</sup>	134	9
arouras:	13	14	15	16	17	18	20	21	25	30	40
number:	1 <sup>2</sup>	2 <sup>3</sup>	31	2 <sup>4</sup>	1 <sup>5</sup>	3 <sup>6</sup>	89	3 <sup>7</sup>	8	27	12
arouras:	41	42	45	50	55	60	70	80			
number:	1 <sup>8</sup>	2 <sup>9</sup>	1 <sup>10</sup>	2 <sup>11</sup>	1 <sup>12</sup>	5	1 <sup>13</sup>	1 <sup>14</sup>			

### c. The *pōsh*-entries of Type A

Though not a few non-apportioning paragraphs can be found that contain nothing but simple assessments of the kind above described, in general it may be said that one out of every three or four such assessments has attached to it what I have called a *pōsh*-entry of Type A. Of these I have counted 151 in all. An example of this kind of entry was given with its context above, p. 57, and it was there hinted that the entry might record the transference of a certain number of sacks of corn to another land-owning institution named in the entry; however, this conjecture was a mere shot in the dark. Whatever the solution of this problem, there seems no *a priori* objection to my proposal to translate the introductory formula  $\frac{x}{y}$  or  $\frac{x}{y}$  by 'apportioned for'. The important point now to be emphasized is that the number of sacks (*khar*) mentioned is always  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the number attached to the final word  $\omega$  *oipē* in the accompanying assessment. Thus if in that assessment the final figure is 50 resulting from the assessing of 10 arouras at 5 mc. (measures of corn) *per* aroura, the number of sacks in the *pōsh*-entry will be  $3\frac{3}{4}$  (e.g. 18, 36; 19, 18; 20, 46); other examples,  $11\frac{1}{4}$  sacks on 150 mc., 20, 43;  $9\frac{1}{8}$  on 125 mc., 30, 4;  $22\frac{3}{4}$  on 300 mc., 34, 20;  $1\frac{3}{8}$  on 25 mc., 74, 21;  $1\frac{1}{8}$  on 15 mc., 34, 17; 3 on 40 mc., 16, 41;  $\frac{3}{4}$  on 10 mc., 76, 51. Errors of calculation are extremely rare,<sup>15</sup> instances being  $62\frac{3}{4}$  instead of  $65\frac{3}{8}$  on 875 mc., 34, 7;  $7\frac{3}{8}$  instead of  $9\frac{1}{8}$  on 125 mc., 93, 39; slips of another nature are  $7\frac{3}{4}$  on 200 mc., which the scribe evidently misread as 100 mc., 33, 4;  $2\frac{1}{4}$  instead of  $7\frac{3}{4}$  on 100 mc., 93, 24. When two or three assessments were made in one and the same place the percentage was reckoned on the total of these, e.g.  $18\frac{3}{4}$  sacks on  $150 + 100 = 250$  mc., 29, 7;  $7\frac{3}{4}$  sacks (it should be  $7\frac{3}{8}$ ) on  $52\frac{1}{2} + 50 = 102\frac{1}{2}$  mc., 39, 22; also the erroneous cases in 34, 7 and 93, 39 quoted above.

The percentage of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  mentioned above refers only to the actual figures written, and we must here hark back to the problem in connexion with  $\omega$  discussed above on pp. 62 ff. If the figures following that sign are to be interpreted in terms of *oipē* (i.e.  $\frac{1}{4}$  sack), then the amount given in the *pōsh*-entry, being stated in sacks, will be  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4 = 30$  per cent. of the preceding assessment. If, on the other hand, the figures of the assessment are to be considered as referring to sacks, in spite of the accompanying sign for the *oipē*, then the percentage will really have been  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

Owing to the desire of the scribe to confine the *pōsh*-entry to a single line, the name of the land-owning institution which is found following the words *pš n*, together with the name of the 'domain'

<sup>1</sup> 16, 6; 72, 11. 18; 76, 46.

<sup>2</sup> 21, 29; 83, 28.

<sup>3</sup> 11, 29.

<sup>7</sup> [4, y+8]; 72, 9. 16.

<sup>2</sup> 21, 24.

<sup>4</sup> [12, 13]; 98, 31.

<sup>6</sup> 53, 38; 64, 12. 16.

<sup>8</sup> 1, x+6.

<sup>9</sup> 10, 48; 12, 36.

<sup>12</sup> 29, 20.

<sup>15</sup> In all I have found only nine mistakes, i.e. rather more than one in twenty. These are enumerated in Appendix C below, p. 123.

<sup>10</sup> 11, 34.

<sup>13</sup> 92, 34.

<sup>11</sup> 34, 4; 63, 4.

<sup>14</sup> 20, 27.



or 'department' of the institution in question, had often to be abbreviated in a way that might cause misunderstanding, were it not that these *pōsh*-entries almost without exception have their counterpart in an apportioning paragraph of the said institution. In order, therefore, to find the full designation of the institution and domain or department (*rmnyt*) mentioned in a *pōsh*-entry of Type A we have first to identify the corresponding *pōsh*-entry of Type B<sup>1</sup> and then to consult the heading and sub-heading of the paragraph in which the latter occurs. It is through this process that the designation 'the Mansion of Pharaoh' in *pōsh*-entries of Type A was discovered to mean the Theban temple of Ramesses V,<sup>2</sup> and 'the domain of the Nome' to mean 'the domain of the Nome of Ninsu' (Heraclaeopolis),<sup>3</sup> and so forth. By the same process it may be demonstrated that the entry 'Apportioned for this house, (in) this domain' (e.g. 34, 35. 43; 39, 25; 94, 32) refers to the land-owning institution named in the last preceding *pōsh*-entry; so too 'this house' simply, e.g. 20, 43. 46; 21, 3. A mode of abbreviation by omission of the word for temple before the name of a deity was seen (p. 59) to be frequent in *pōsh*-entries of Type C; in Type A it is rare, but occurs with Arsaphes, 20, 40; Har-Min and Isis, 53, 42; Suchus, lord of Anasha, 64, 19; 78, 43; Amūn Tjayef, 74, 37. The temple called 'the Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn Beloved like Rē' (so fully even in *pōsh*-entry 73, 25) is shortened to 'The Mansion Beloved like Rē' in 16, 41; 19, 34 and elsewhere. Confirmation is obtained of Černý's thesis<sup>4</sup> that 'The Mansion (𓂏𓂏𓂏 T-ḥō) in the House of Amūn' means the great temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu, and similarly curtailed writings are 'The Mansion in the House of Rē' for a foundation of Ramesses II at Heliopolis,<sup>5</sup> and 'The People of the Mansion (Na-t-ḥō) in the House of Rē' north of Heliopolis' for the temple and palace of Ramesses III at Tell el-Yahūdīyah.<sup>6</sup> We see further from these *pōsh*-entries that 'the House of Amūn' means the great temple of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, at Karnak,<sup>7</sup> e.g. 29, 7 = 24, 15; 39, 35 = 25, 5; but if, as is probable, the *pōsh*-entry Type B 83, 15 corresponds to Type A in 78, 49, then the expression there means the temple of Medīnet Habu, though possibly only by a mistake of the scribe. In Sections II, III and IV it is most exceptional that a *pōsh*-entry of Type A should have no counterpart of Type B in an apportioning paragraph, the only examples in fact being 30, 1; 34, 43; 39, 28; 50, 17; 72, 30; 73, 16; 100, 18, i.e. seven in all; in Section I the corresponding *pōsh*-entry of Type B is sometimes absent because the early parts of that section never stood in the Wilbour papyrus at all, but were contained in a lost roll.<sup>8</sup>

Broadly speaking, though not with absolute accuracy, it may be said that any land-owning institution for which we have non-apportioning paragraphs can show transferences of the kind presupposed by *pōsh*-entries of Type A to any land-owning institution which we find with apportioning paragraphs, so that by consulting pp. 55 f. above the student will be able to form some idea of the possibilities. For example, *minē*- and *khato*-lands of Pharaoh show such transferences, but are not in receipt of them, as is evidenced by the fact that these lands are found with non-apportioning paragraphs, but not with apportioning ones; examples, *minē*-lands, 19, 34. 41; 72, 23. 27; *khato*-lands, 20, 11. 40; 74, 14. 37. The transferee in such cases could be a small local temple like that of Seth of Piwayna (43, 19) or that of Amūn of Tjayef (74, 37); but it might also be a temple of greater importance in one of the three great cities, e.g. the temple of Ramesses V at Thebes (73, 16) or that of Ramesses II at Memphis (74, 3). In seeking to explain the nature of these transferences, the student must not assume that they were made to a smaller dependency, nor yet that they were made by an unimportant to an important land-owning institution. In the case of *minē*- and *khato*-lands it is perhaps mere accident that we have no instance of the temple of Karnak or that of Medīnet Habu as the transferee. In discussing this question we are handicapped by not knowing exactly which temples were of great wealth and complete

<sup>1</sup> Agreement as regards the place of measurement, if often not the first step, at all events provides the most important confirmation.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 10, with n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *JEA*, xxvi, 127-30; also, for the Wilbour papyrus, the Synopsis below, under § 64.

<sup>5</sup> See the Synopsis, under § 76.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 12, and in the Synopsis, under § 77.

<sup>7</sup> There seems some reason to think that when the qualifica-

tion 'in the House of Amūn' is added to the name of some Theban temple, the Amūn meant was 'Amen-Rē, King of the Gods', i.e. the Amūn of Karnak, the epithet 'King of the Gods' being omitted merely for sake of brevity. The omission of the epithet is found, not only in the title of the High-priest (see Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres*, p. 13), but also in the title 'overseer of cattle of Amūn', so in the Wilbour, 85, 40, full form 75, 11.

<sup>8</sup> Over twenty absences of the Type B entry can be accounted for in this way; see Appendix B, pp. 119 f.



independence in the reign of Ramesses V. We can attribute wealth with certainty to both Karnak and Medīnet Habu, though we cannot with equal assurance assert their mutual independence. A few examples may be given where at least the relative importance of the two institutions concerned cannot be doubted. In *pōsh*-entries of Type A the great temple of Medīnet Habu was sometimes the active party in the transference and sometimes the passive party—I use these terms with full consciousness that the really active party consisted of the assessors themselves, since in any case it was they who fixed the assessment, in whatever way the latter has to be interpreted. I remind the reader that we do not yet know whether what was transferred was corn or some obligation to pay a certain amount of corn. Non-apportioning paragraphs coming under the heading of the Medīnet Habu temple make transferences to Karnak (53, 39; 79, 25), to the Ramesseum (30, 1), to the Mansion of Ramesses V at Thebes (30, 4), to the House of Osiris at Abydos (29, 34; 30, 13) and to the House of Thoth at Hermopolis (79, 22)—there are others as well; Medīnet Habu is transferee from the temple of Ramesses IV at Thebes (49, 31), from the temple of Meneptah at Heliopolis (34, 32), from the provincial chapel of Suchus Iy-maryaf (98, 4) and even from a local statue or shrine known as 'The god of Usima'rē-miamūn' (33, 11. 15). If the temple of Karnak never occurs as transferor, this may hang together with the fact that the non-apportioning paragraphs falling under this rubric (§§ 51-3. 117. 208-10) are remarkably short; indeed the thesis of Breasted alluded to above (p. 11) may possess thus much truth that, although the ancient temple of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, never lost its primacy as the foremost sanctuary of the land, yet after the reign of Ramesses III it may have been less rich and less important economically than the temple of Medīnet Habu. As transferee Karnak is found in connexion with temples both great (Medīnet Habu, see above; Na-t-hō, 34, 7) and small (three provincial chapels of Amūn each with its own particular epithet, 15, 42; 39, 18. 35; the shrine of Seth, Lord of Wealth and Might, within the larger temple of Seth at Spermeru, 64, 4), as well as from the Tabernacle of Rē in the Castle of Meryrē (34, 24) and from the Harem of Mi-wēr (19, 18. 21).

It is difficult to summarize the facts with regard to land-owning institutions of importance less than that of Medīnet Habu and Karnak. We find small temples in obscure or unknown localities making transferences to medium-sized temples in one of the three great cities (e.g. 17, 6; 18, 36), and also temples in more or less prominent provincial towns making similar transferences (11, 49; 64, 24. 42; 93, 29. 32), but conversely, though more rarely, we find a temple in a great city making the transference to an unimportant local chapel (101, 3); there seems no case of one small chapel dealing with another in the same way. The House of the Royal Wife (42, 43; 101, 18) and the Harem of Mi-wēr (see above; also 19, 24. 27) both figure as transferors, and so do the Treasury of Pharaoh (72, 12. 19) and the Landing-place of Pharaoh in Mi-wēr (19, 9). Whether it be mere chance or not, the institutions setting aside fields for 'food for White Goats' never are transferees of a percentage in respect of those fields, but the fields set aside for 'herbage' for cattle are the object of such transferences, and in that case the *pōsh*-entry explicitly inserts the word 'herbage' before the name of the institution, thereby confirming the conclusion reached earlier that such fields were administered as an at least to some extent economically independent unit (pp. 22 ff.); an example is 'Apportioned for herbage of the Mansion of Usima'rē-setpenrē in the House of Amūn', i.e. the Ramesseum, 93, 24; see too 34, 27; 95, 10; 101, 9; an exception is 73, 25. On the other hand, the word 'harvest-tax' (*šmw*) never appears in *pōsh*-entries of Type A, and this again confirms our provisional conclusion that the 'harvest-tax' paragraphs do not stand on the same footing as the 'herbage' paragraphs (p. 24). The cases where the *pōsh*-entry of Type A merely says 'apportioned for' such and such a land-owning institution, but where the corresponding entry of Type B stands in a 'harvest-tax' paragraph are 43, 19 = 40, 7 (§ 100); 74, 14 = 63, 45 (§ 166); 74, 27 = 63, 38 (§ 166); 74, 37 = 64, 37 (§ 171); 78, 34 = 100, 27 (§ 273); 78, 43 = 95, 40 (§ 260); 80, 3 = 93, 3 (§ 251); 101, 3 = 99, 4 (§ 266); in the first four cases the transferor is *khato*-land of Pharaoh, in the others the transferor is in each case a temple of considerable standing.

Such are the facts with regard to the *pōsh*-entries of Type A, set forth, it is hoped, as clearly and comprehensibly as is possible without definite knowledge of what was transferred and why these transferences were made. My final suggestions on this subject are reserved for the Postscript.



## 9. The apportioning paragraphs: detailed account

## a. The holders of land: generalities

On p. 55 it was mentioned as a leading characteristic of the apportioning paragraphs that they enumerate a large number of smallholders whose position either was, or else closely resembled, that of private owners. The actual relationship of these persons to the institution named in the paragraph-heading is a question for later consideration. Before passing in review the occupations and official status revealed by the titles placed before their names—there is only one single instance, that of a dead man (78, 9), where such a title is absent—it will be well to deal with these entries in a more general way. Usually the combination of title and name suffices to fix the individual's identity, but in cases where two like-named persons are found in close proximity one of them is sometimes further defined by mention of his father. The name of the latter is unaccompanied by any title and is introduced by  $\text{𓂏}$  'son of', this being omitted either by error or as superfluous in a very small number of instances, see note *a* on 55, 41. In two cases of woman holders of land (47, 34; 57, 20) the name of the parent suggests the mother rather than the father; not so, however, 28, 50; 46, 36. The filiations here mentioned are very far from being the rule; in this respect the Wilbour papyrus differs from the Greek land-registers of Ptolemaic date, in which filiations are usual and which for that reason are able to dispense with the title of the son; in the Wilbour papyrus indications of parentage certainly do not exceed one entry in twenty.<sup>1</sup> Conversely, to emphasize the fact that a person with a holding of land is identical with the like-named person mentioned previously in the same paragraph, the word *ky* 'another' is employed, though never written out fully as in the non-apportioning paragraphs (p. 65); usually *ky* is represented simply by  $\sim$  immediately prefixed to the person's title, e.g. 6, x+10. 11. 12; 7, 24; 8, 5. 6. 39. 40. The insertion of this  $\sim$  is, however, erratic, and sometimes what is undoubtedly the same individual occurs again after only a very short interval without this indication of his identity; thus in one paragraph the herdsman Woserhikhopshef occurs four times without  $\sim$  and two of the examples are in consecutive lines (52, 3. 4. 11. 21);<sup>2</sup> in another column the priest Kamosē is found holding four plots, and only once is the entry preceded by  $\sim$  (89, 13. 21. 31. 33). In consecutive entries different plots belonging to the same man are usually signaled by  $\sim \text{𓂏}$  'another measurement (made) for him' (very frequent, e.g. 8, 9-10. 13. 16-18. 21-3; thirteen times in col. 86), where the interpretation of  $\sim$  as for  $\text{𓂏}$  'for him' is proved by the counterpart  $\sim \text{𓂏}$  'another measurement (made) for her' (e.g. 14, 16-17; 86, 27. 39-41) in respect of land held by women. This suggests that when  $\sim$  precedes a title as in  $\sim \text{𓂏}$  59, 14 the construction is elliptical and represents 'another (measurement) (made) (for) the overseer of cattle Pkatja'; however, in the translation I shall content myself with rendering 'again the overseer of cattle Pkatja'; and so too elsewhere. In the discussion of the word *pš* (p. 56) it was noted that the second scribe regularly uses 'another apportionment (*pš*) made for him'. Two strange examples from the first hand, one with  $\sim \text{𓂏}$  (89, 20) and the other (90, 21) very much like it, appear to combine the two alternatives; perhaps we should here render 'Another measurement for him and apportionment for him'.

Reflection upon the types of entry illustrated above may help to dispel the mystery some may feel still to attach to the *pōsh*-entries already discussed in a general way (pp. 55 ff.). The occurrence of 'another measurement made for him' or 'her' in the line following one with simple title and name surely suggests 'measurement made for' as implicit at the beginning of the first of the two lines. Similarly, the variant substituting 'another apportionment' for 'another measurement' will make 'apportionment made for' implicit before the simple title and name in those portions of Text A written by the second hand. The standpoints of the two scribes are seen to be slightly different. The first scribe by writing 'another measurement' thinks only of the necessary ascertainment of the plot's dimensions; the second scribe allows his mind to dwell rather upon the division of each plot into a chargeable and non-chargeable area. The latter standpoint is the more illuminating, since we now see that every entry in an

<sup>1</sup> However, in the Dyn. XIX leather document in the Louvre briefly discussed by me in *JEA*, xxvii, 70-1 and to be published in full in my *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 60 ff., the

filiation is found with every one of the many holders of land.

<sup>2</sup> In consecutive lines with exactly the same assessment, see 70, 27. 28.



apportioning paragraph—whether or no the word *pōsh* ‘apportion’ occurs in the heading—is really a *pōsh*-entry, an apportioning entry. Thus the explicit *pōsh*-entries of Types B and C now cease to appear exceptional and inexplicable in the degree that they did before.<sup>1</sup>

Various scraps of evidence point to the fact that the holdings referred to in the apportioning paragraphs were, or at all events might be, hereditary. Otherwise it is unlikely that there would be so many references to plots held by women. The title used in this case is invariably  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏}$ , clearly for  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ , as written in less cursive manuscripts of the period; the literal sense is more neatly rendered in the German *Städterin* than it could be in English, but even this is misleading, and I prefer to translate simply ‘the lady X’. No less than 131 such female holders of land are mentioned in Text A. In a few cases a woman holding land is declared to be dead ( $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏}$  i.e. *nty ml*,<sup>2</sup> e.g. 36, 38. 45; 67, 38), and when to this is added  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$  ‘(cultivated) by the hand of her children’, e.g. 59, 12. 24, we now have presumptive evidence of the continuance of the property in the same family for at least three generations. Similar expressions are common, of course, also with men; *nty ml*, 25, 9; 34, 51; with *m-drt msw(f)*, 52, 54; 53, 4; 56, 42; the last phrase alone, 57, 41; 59, 25. Entries naming either men or women are sometimes accompanied by  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$  (or  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏}$ ) ‘together with his (or her) brethren’ (masc. pronoun, e.g. 32, 41; 42, 33; 44, 19. 32; fem. pron., e.g. 36, 23. 24), and this again suggests an estate divided among several children after the parents’ death. The Egyptian does not enable us to see whether sisters were meant as well as brothers, but often they may well have been.

If thus many of the plots mentioned in the apportioning paragraphs had doubtless been inherited, there is evidence also that transfers of property occurred, though we are not told by what processes or for what reasons. Some passages in Text B have already been adduced (p. 59) to show that certain fields designated as *khato*-land of Pharaoh had earlier been held by a private individual. In Text A there are three examples with the form ‘The charioteer of his Majesty Merenptah, which was (formerly in the) name of the chief of the Medjay Mahuy’ (46, 40–1). So too 47, 29–30, which is interesting because the former owner, the stable-master Temnakhte, had been mentioned as a holder of land only a few lines earlier (47, 20), and was therefore presumably still alive. The third example, 57, 3, is of interest only because after  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$  ‘which was (in) the name’ it writes out the word — ‘of’ left implicit in the two other examples.

Personages of high rank are named among the holders of land, and it is natural that instead of their personally administering their property, they should be found represented by subordinates of one kind or another. Here, no less than in the sub-headings of paragraphs (above, p. 19), the expression  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏}$  ‘by the hand of’ is used. Thus there are fields ascribed to the High-priests of both Thebes (32, 51) and Heliopolis (34, 49), where the actual work was done by a cultivator, and so too with the Vizier (92, 27) and a Royal prince (37, 14–15). Pharaoh’s chief charioteer employs his scribe (31, 39–40), but scribes themselves might be holders of plots and have them tilled by someone else (e.g. 44, 24; 46, 45), in two cases by a woman (44, 27; 52, 22). As field-labourers or responsible managers—we cannot be sure of their exact function—men of Sherden race are found acting for other persons (42, 27; 44, 24; 48, 45–6, &c.), but we shall find them later as themselves virtual or real owners of land. It would be tedious to enumerate all the ranks that thus employed subordinates, or again the social stations of all the latter; what has been given above is a mere selection. Considerable difficulty is caused by entries where the title and name of a person are followed by  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏}$  ‘by his hand’: in none of the five cases 28, 23. 29; 32, 46; 45, 12; 82, 34 is there any likelihood that ‘his’ refers to the man mentioned in the previous line; one alternative is to understand ‘by his (own) hand’, which is grammatically legitimate, but in all these examples such an addition seems quite motiveless. To add to our perplexity, in two entries (65, 27; 86, 38) we find ‘the lady X by his (or his own) hand’, with the masculine possessive, though the occurrence of ‘together with his (*sic*) brethren’ also in two instances after a woman’s name

<sup>1</sup> Striking confirmation of the view here put forward is found in the rare *pōsh*-entries of Type C which contain the title and name of a high official instead of the name of a god; see above, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> So probably rather than *nty m rw* (Wb. 1, 5, 16); the latter

reading was thought by Spiegelberg (*Rechnungen*, p. 62) to emerge from  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$  P. Brit. Mus. 10053, rt. 1, 9, as compared with the full writing in Abbott 2, 15, and elsewhere; but Peet read  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏}$  for  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \text{𓆏}$  in the former passage.



(32, 5; 35, 33) justifies us in making light of this lack of concord. If we decide to accept the meaning 'with his own hand' this will be analogous to, though not synonymous with, four entries where  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'on his (own) behalf' follows a man's name, and refers to his cultivation of a plot of his own; two of these entries follow closely upon others where the same man, his name introduced by *m-drt* 'by the hand of', has been stated to be the agent of someone else (17, 21; 86, 20);<sup>2</sup> the other two entries (56, 4; 86, 47) have been preceded by *pōsh*-entries of Type B, where the man in question is found farming the land on behalf of some land-owning institution. Lastly, Section II contains five examples of a type not found elsewhere: 'The scribe Dḥutnūfe  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  which the scribe Amenḥotpe acquired for himself (?)', 23, 14. 17. 18-19; 24, 12; 32, 47. Unfortunately the verb *in* is ambiguous, and the grammatical construction uncertain; we cannot be sure whether 'the scribe Amenḥotpe' is subject or object, or whether *in* here signified 'bought' or 'rented', or in the event of Amenḥotpe being object, even 'took (as partner)'. In any case it seems likely that the words are a loosely constructed relative clause referring to the piece of land of which the dimensions are about to be given; cf. 'which was in the name of . . .' discussed above.

Broadly speaking, each separate entry represents one single person's undivided holding in a stated locality. None the less, in 8, 5. 6. 13; 32, 49 (?) 'in three places' is inserted within an entry obviously because it seemed superfluous to treat each of the three plots separately. This brings up the question concerning the reasons that prompted entries like 'another measurement made for him', 'again, the scribe X'. The most usual reason is a difference in the assessment, but we are not permitted to see whether such difference of assessment refers to different and unctiguous plots, or whether it refers to one and the same plot of which parts were differently assessed, e.g. when one part was unproductive.<sup>3</sup> Another reason was a difference of crop, but this, as we saw on p. 61, is but rarely mentioned, and gives rise to a separate entry only in 6, x+17; 44, 33. Here perhaps is the best occasion to mention some forms of entry in which, contrary to the habit of the scribe, the title and name of the land-holding individual do not occupy the first place. Quite abnormal are three examples beginning with the word for 'flax'; they read 'Flax of the House of (Arsaphes)', 7, 43; 'Flax of . . .', 7, 48; and 'Flax of Ars[aphes]', 8, 4 respectively.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere the initial word is a word for some sort of land. I will not here discuss the entries introduced by *hmk* 'donated land', since they will receive separate consideration later (pp. 86 ff.). But there remain two other cases where the first word describes a particular kind of land. The less important of these cases, since it occurs only twice, is in 55, 42;<sup>5</sup> 70, 19, where it refers to a plot, or two adjacent plots, belonging to the same man in the same locality; we there read 'Riparian land ( $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  *idb*) of the chief of His Majesty's retainers Sebknakhte', and perhaps the actual river-bank is meant. The other case is important not only on account of its frequent occurrence, but also because it casts an interesting sidelight on one aspect of agricultural life in Ramesside times. Except in one instance (62, 35), where the man concerned is a  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'charioteer', the entries in question are connected with men in the position of  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  'stable-master';<sup>6</sup> these were men in charge of horses, but whether always of horses belonging to the King, as seems likely, remains for future investigation to decide. No one could have anticipated that, among the many titles of the apportioning paragraphs, 'stable-master' would be far the commonest; but such is the fact, that title being prefixed to no less than 198 different names of holders of land. In very nearly fifty entries<sup>7</sup> the title and name are intro-

<sup>1</sup>  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  is here doubtless short for  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ ; the same abbreviated form and same meaning, Cairo 39410, l. 12 = *Mélanges Maspero*, 1, 822. Cf. in the Ptolemaic land survey *P. Tebt.* 63  $\gamma\epsilon\omega(\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma) \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

<sup>2</sup> In Greek the equivalent of *m-drt* seems to be  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ , see the introduction to *P. Tebt.* 88, though in that particular document the editors consider the meaning of the preposition to be somewhat different.

<sup>3</sup> Usually, as we shall see below, this was expressed by an abbreviated note following the figure giving the size of the plot in question. In 28, 16 we have, however, the exceptional insertion of the words 'being dry' immediately after 'Another measurement made for him'.

<sup>4</sup> All three occur in a harvest-tax paragraph of the temple of Arsaphes at Heracleopolis (§ 6).

<sup>5</sup> This entry is seriously damaged, and in the Plate of transcription I have failed to recognize the identity of reading with 70, 19.

<sup>6</sup> The word *ih* is everywhere written extremely cursively, but there are certain examples (see the textual note *a* on 25, 17) where the last signs suggest  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ . On account of the word for 'horse' in the formula and also of the passages quoted below, there cannot be a shadow of doubt about the reading.

<sup>7</sup> Curiously enough, these entries, with the solitary exception of 10, 6, are confined to Section III.



duced by a cryptic formula that appears in four variant forms: (a)  $\overline{\text{pr}}^1$  10, 6; 44, 49; 46, 16; 47, 11; (b)  $\overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1$  44, 41; 45, 14, 15, 16, 26, and often; always so from col. 48 onwards; (c)  $\overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1$  40, 14; 42, 4, 30; (d)  $\overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1$  (without  $\overline{\text{pr}}^1$ ) 36, 39, 42 and doubtless so to be restored in 35, 24. It seems highly probable that these are all attempts to render *ḥt n ḥtrī dd-n*, the scribe having taken a little time before making up his mind as to the most appropriate form of abbreviation. For reasons that will emerge immediately I propose to interpret this to mean 'Field for horses which the stable-master X named (lit. spoke of)'. By a happy chance a model letter in the Ramesside Miscellany contained in a papyrus in the British Museum explains the allusion; the passage runs as follows:<sup>1</sup>

'The chief record-keeper of the Treasury of Pharaoh Amenemōne greets the scribe Pentwēre. This letter is brought to you to say that Amenemuia, son of Amenemopē, the stable-master of the Great Stable of Raḥmesse-miamūn of the Residence, has reported to us as follows:—Thirty arouras of fields ( $\overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1$  *ḥt*) were given to me to make into food for the pair of horses of Pharaoh which are in my charge, and now, behold, they have been taken from me and given to Nūdem, the steward of the Mansion of King Usimarē-setpenrē in the House of Amūn.<sup>2</sup> This is to say that when my letter reaches you, you shall cause these thirty arouras of fields to be released very speedily and at this very moment to Amenemuia, son of Amenemopē, the stable-master of the Great Stable of Raḥmesse-miamūn of the Residence. And if the like (again) happens to you (plural),<sup>3</sup> you shall demarcate<sup>4</sup> for him fields of estates of Pharaoh, of enclosures (?) of Pharaoh, of property of Pharaoh, of enclosures (?) of Pharaoh (*sic*, repeated!), of *minē*-lands of Pharaoh, of *khato*-lands of Pharaoh, of harvest-tax (lands) of Pharaoh, and of domain-lands (*rmnyt*) of Pharaoh, (provided) they are uncultivated (?), wherever he desires, and you shall have brought to us a copy of whatever you shall do in the guise of an incontestable legal document (?),<sup>5</sup> and it shall be recorded in writing in the Office of the Granary of Pharaoh.'

The order embodied in this letter is so general and so peremptory that the presupposed writer can barely have been of lower rank than the Vizier or the Steward of Amūn. Non-Egyptologists must take note that the correspondents actually named in such model letters are completely irrelevant to the subject-matter, these letters having the form of epistolary lessons given by an official to a subordinate who was at the same time his pupil. It would seem, then, that stable-masters of Pharaoh were entitled to lay claim to such land as they needed for grazing the horses entrusted to them, as well no doubt as for their own personal support. This appears to be the explanation of the formula found in the Wilbour papyrus, and we find there also one isolated entry which illustrates the reference in the letter to *khato*-lands of Pharaoh; this entry (44, 42) reads:

'The stable-master Setemḥab in the field(s) of ( $\overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1$ ) the *khato*-land under the authority of Raḥmosē who is dead and who was overseer of cattle.'

No doubt it must have been easier to give a stable-master possession of fields that had been in the hands of someone who had recently died; a deceased holder of land could not contest the claim as easily as a living one.

A second letter in another Miscellany must, I think, be interpreted in the light of the situation thus revealed; it shows that the stable-masters who made these claims were apt to act tyrannically, and might render extremely difficult the task of the functionaries thereby dispossessed:<sup>6</sup>

'The scribe Pwahn greets his Lord the scribe Anḥerrekh. In life, wealth and health! This letter is for my Lord's information. A second communication to my Lord to the effect that I have [received] the letter my Lord sent me [about] the food for the horses of the Great Stable of King Raḥmesse-miamūn [belonging to the Residence] and for the

<sup>1</sup> P. Sallier I, 9, 1 f.; for the text see my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 87–8.

<sup>2</sup> The temple in question is the great Ramesseum at Thebes.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'And the like reaches you'. This is obscure, but I think my paraphrase in the text must give the true sense. Here for the first time in this passage the pronoun 'you' is in the plural, and suggests that this letter may have been sent round to many similarly placed officials as a general instruction, as indeed the very wide scope of the order suggests. In like manner the pronoun 'him' in the apodosis probably does not apply to Amenemuia, but to any stable-master in similar case.

<sup>4</sup> *Dgs*, lit. 'tread'. *Wb.* v, 501, 2, 3 gives 'einen Ort betreten; auch Felder zur Besichtigung', and the latter rendering may refer to the present passage. It is certainly not very far wide of

the mark. A second example occurs on a papyrus fragment of Ramesside date in my possession; this has  $\overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1$  'the demarcation (?) of fields' in the midst of lacunae.

<sup>5</sup> *Iptw hr inbw* 'an inventory under a wall'. My suggestion in the text is a pure guess. For  $\overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1 \overline{\text{pr}}^1$  the meaning 'inventory' seems almost certain; to the examples quoted in *Wb.* II, 67, 1 add the *Nauri Stela*, l. 24. Cf. also the curious and interesting personal name Pipunakhte 'the inventory is strong', A 76, 14; 92, 27. The words 'under a wall' here suggest some such custom as that indicated by the foundation deposits so often found in the course of excavation.

<sup>6</sup> P. Bologna 1094, 2, 7–3, 5 = *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 3.



horses of the Great Stable of King Binerē-miamūn belonging to the Residence. Another communication to my Lord to the effect that two of the cultivators of the *minē*-land of Pharaoh which is under the authority of my Lord have fled before the face of the stable-master Neferhōtep, having been beaten by him. And now behold, the fields (𐀀𐀓𐀓𐀓 *ih*) of the *minē*-lands of Pharaoh under the authority of my Lord are abandoned, and there is no one to till them. This letter is for my Lord's information.'

A few more entries remain to be mentioned the form of which departs from the normal. In 49, 12-13 we read:

'The slave Amenmosē (in) the field(s) of the *khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the Chief Taxing-Master.' Here 'the field(s) of' is written 𐀀𐀓𐀓𐀓 as in 44, 42 quoted above, and this writing, in conjunction with those in the two letters quoted above, renders it wellnigh certain that the initial 𐀓 of the stable-master formula is to be read 𐀀𐀓𐀓𐀓 *ih*.<sup>1</sup> The word doubtless means land that had been, or might have been, sown with corn, differently from that named in another exceptional entry (49, 4-5) already mentioned, pp. 60-1:

'The Sherden Piuiu (in) herdsman's territory (𐀀𐀓𐀓𐀓 *mnw*) of the Mansion of Hekma'rē-setpenamūn.' Lastly we find the word for 'ploughland' (*Wb.* IV, 316, 12, fem.) or else more probably the infinitive 'ploughing' (cf. Pleyte and Rossi, *P. Turin*, 156, 11; 157, 1) in the very obscurely determined writing 𐀀𐀓𐀓𐀓 which occurs in two entries:

'The stable-master Psiūr of the Residence by the hand of (left blank) in ploughing of the Sherden Phurōpu', 51, 47-8.  
'The soldier Ptisbsēt (?)<sup>2</sup> in [plough]ing of the herdsman Woserkhopshef', 52, 2-3.

## b. The occupations and social grades of the holders of land

In the apportioning paragraphs the actual holders of land are men and women in many different occupations and ranks. About fifty different titles are found, and here the attempt will be made to classify them and to determine the frequency of each. Only the principals will be taken into consideration, i.e. those assistants or employees will be ignored whose titles and names are introduced by 𐀀𐀓𐀓𐀓 'by the hand of'. Rather inconsistently perhaps I have included those persons, often cultivators, whose names introduce *pōsh*-entries of Type B, in other words those who were acting on behalf, not of some individual, but of some land-owning institution. To each title I have added the number of different names that occur in connexion with it; this does not necessarily yield the exact number of persons found in the occupation in question, because there may obviously have been several soldiers or herdsmen or scribes of the same name without our being able to distinguish them. None the less, and even if, as is highly probable, in some cases I have counted wrongly, the figures given will provide a roughly accurate picture of the holders of land in the agricultural districts covered by the survey of Text A.

I have already spoken of the women holders of land (131) and need not return to them again. Since a good deal of attention has also been paid to the stable-masters (𐀀𐀓𐀓𐀓 *hry ih*), the commonest title of all (198), it will be best to begin with this and the cognate occupations. Three stable-masters receive the epithet 𐀀𐀓𐀓𐀓 *n hny*, for which the variant 𐀀𐀓𐀓𐀓 is not unknown,<sup>3</sup> so that the rendering 'of the Residence' seems hardly open to doubt. It is quite possible that many, if not all, of the stable-masters mentioned were somehow connected with the Residence, i.e. the place where Pharaoh lived, even when the adjunct *n hny* is not appended. Also connected with horses were the 𐀀𐀓𐀓𐀓 *mri* (8), whose title is usually rendered as 'groom',<sup>4</sup> and the 𐀀𐀓𐀓𐀓 *kt* 'charioteers' (19), of whom two, named

<sup>1</sup> The masc. article is not really conclusive against the reading *ih*. Not only is this word masc. in Demotic and Coptic, but also there is at least one Late-Egyptian example (*P. Anast.* V, 27, 4) of its use with the masc. possessive.

<sup>2</sup> The name has been corrected and is extremely doubtful; it surely cannot be read as containing the name of the Hittite god Teshub.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Couyat & Montet, *Inscr. . . . du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, No. 12, l. 15, where 20 men with this title take part in the expedition sent by Ramesses IV. The adjunct *n hntw* or *n hny*, likewise found in the same inscription after the name of a *ktu*

'charioteer' (l. 14, cf. also Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, (1), Pl. 9) and in reference to 'soldiers of the regiments (*sic*) of fishermen' (l. 16) is also appended in Text A to two military titles: once to *wrw* 'soldier', 38, 9; more than once to *hry sryt* 'standard-bearer', 20, 5; 38, 10; 43, 12; B 10, 2, but always in reference to the same officer named Merenptah. I have an idea that *hntw* here means the Northern capital as opposed to the Southern City (Thebes), cf. the Duties of the Vizier in the tomb of Rekhmirē. Further references for the title, see *Wb.* I, 121, 7.


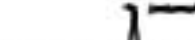


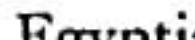
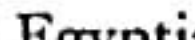
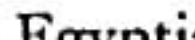
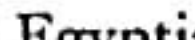

<sup>4</sup> *Wb.* II, 110, 5. Examples in Text A, 37, 1; 41, 17; 44, 44.










*šmsw*) one is qualified as ‘of His Majesty’ (Sebknahte, 55, 42; 66, 19; 70, 19), though the other (Iib, 26, 48) is not; in 31, 28 we find a [𓏲]𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷 ‘retainer (*or* bodyguard) of the General’. One holder of the title ‘standard-bearer’, namely the 𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹 ‘standard-bearer of the Tjuk-people Nebwa’ (46, 28), introduces us to a category of soldiers or something similar who have been suspected, not without reason, of being Libyans.<sup>1</sup> Four or possibly five men of this class are mentioned as well as the standard-bearer, see 58, 43; 70, 11; 77, 45. 46. 48; 89, 17.<sup>2</sup> Another military title known from the Heracleopolite stela of Shoshenḳ and elsewhere<sup>3</sup> suggests Hittite or Syrian nationality;<sup>4</sup> this is 𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻 *thr* ‘chief of *thr*-warriors’, and two of the three persons so described in Text A were themselves holders of land. It was perhaps because their own names were foreign and outlandish that they were accorded high-sounding Egyptian substitutes incorporating the name of a Pharaoh: Ra‘messempirē‘ (‘Ramesses is in the House of Rē‘), 91, 20, cf. also 85, 15; 90, 8; B 17, 24; Ra‘messenebnūfe (‘Ramesses is a good lord’), 22, 14; 27, 42; 48, 15; cf. also 33, 1 (§ 71, heading) = 38, 20 (*pōsh*-entry); not as a land-holder, Usima‘rē‘nakhte (‘Usima‘rē‘ is powerful’), 48, 9, cf. B 14, 15. 26; Ḳenḥikhopshef (‘Bravery is on his scimitar’), only in Text B, 8, 9. 17. 31; 9, 6. 7; 12, 30. That these warriors of foreign stock were men of high rank who had been put in possession of estates in Middle Egypt was clear enough already from the Shoshenḳ stela; confirmation is found in the passages from the Wilbour papyrus above quoted, in some of which they are seen in charge of land donated to the god of Pharaoh (A 48, 9; 85, 15; cf. § 71), while in others they are found in possession of sufficient seed to be able to lend some to *khato*-lands of the King, see B 8, 9; 14, 15. Only once (A 90, 8) could there be any doubt about such a man’s high rank, namely where Ra‘messempirē‘ is quoted as administering lands on behalf of a ‘scribe of the granary’; it is to be presumed that this particular scribe was of still higher rank, in fact a person of great importance. While we are on the subject of foreigners mention may be made of the two Medjay, i.e. policemen, to whom fields are ascribed in 69, 30; 71, 8 respectively, and of the ‘chief of the Medjay’ in whose name (46, 40–1) certain land was formerly registered; these were doubtless Egyptians, though the name Medjay is that of a Nubian tribe.

Among military officers of Egyptian birth who are found cultivating land is a  . . . .  'lieutenant-commander of chariotry', 47, 29; 61, 19; like the chiefs of *thr*-warriors mentioned above he too is recorded (17, 11) as administering lands donated to the gods of Pharaoh; the rank was a fairly high one, and persons holding it are fairly frequently mentioned.<sup>5</sup> There are also two examples of the title  *skt*, see 80, 30; 96, 17; of this not very frequently mentioned officer<sup>6</sup> the main thing we know is that his designation perilously closely resembled the Egyptian word for an ass's foal. Whether the four men described as  *wrtw* in 27, 4; 89, 19. 35; 90, 2; 92, 24 were military officers is uncertain; but this title is found definitely connected with the army elsewhere, and may then conveniently be rendered 'quartermaster'.<sup>7</sup> Some difficulty is caused by the titles containing a word which we must perforce transcribe ; though the sign below  sometimes (e.g. 33, 5; 54, 11. 12) is definitely like  and never like , I am convinced that  *kr* 'shield-bearer' must be understood, since the combinations here found are well-known in Ramesside times, while corresponding combina-

<sup>1</sup> The writing of *Tk* is identical in all examples of Text A, and agrees with the writing  in Nelson, *op. cit.*, (11), 86, 27, where it is said that Keper, the prince of the Meshwesh, 'came to beg for peace in the manner of a Tjuk'. There is little to recommend the suggestion by Edgerton and Wilson (*op. cit.*, p. 91, n. 27a) that the word means one 'blindfolded', but their further comparison with the  'Tktn of the Oasis-land', *P. Anast. IV*, 10, 9 = *Anast. V*, 1a, 1 is certainly correct, and tends to confirm Lefébure's conjecture (*Sphinx*, III, 152) that *-tn* here is a Berber plural suffix. Spiegelberg, in an admirable note on this word, now corroborated by the discovery of a number of examples written simply as *Tk*, identified these people with the  mentioned together with Libyans and Cushites as constituting the army sent out against Rehoboam by Shishak (II Chr. 12, 3), see his *Ägyptologische Randglossen zum Alten Testament*, 30-1. It is not proposed to discuss this difficult

problem further, except to point out that the other example of *ṭktn* in the *Israel Stela* (l. 24) likewise points to the Libyan origin of the word.

<sup>2</sup> Whether the number of individuals is four or five depends upon whether the man mentioned in 58, 43 is the same as the man in 70, 11; one of the two names might be faultily written.

<sup>3</sup> *Mélanges Maspero*, 1, 822; *P. Brit. Mus.* 10068, rt. 4, 4.  
16 = Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, Pl. 11.

<sup>4</sup> See Edgerton & Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 30, n. 52b. For the title *cinthr* see also Kuentz, *Bataille de Qadech*, 376.


<sup>5</sup> e.g. Borchardt, *Statuen*, Index, p. 64; P. Leyden 350, vs. 2, 3; Petrie & Brunton, *Sedment II*, 68; a variant, Berlin 17332 = *Äg. Inschr.*, II, 212; see too the Golénischeff Onomasticon, 2.2. No. 95 in my Commentary.

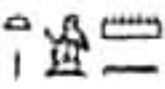
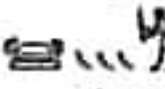
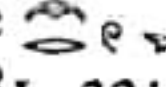
<sup>6</sup> See *P. Lansing*, 9, 5; a 'captain of *skt*-officers' *P. Bologna* 1086, 17. See too the Golénischeff *Onomasticon*, 3, 10 (my No. 198).

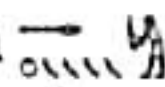

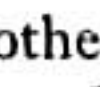
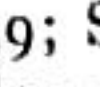
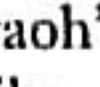
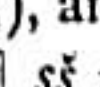
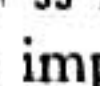
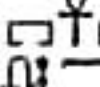
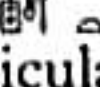


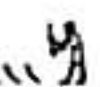




instrument' (37, 18), and though slaves were branded as well as cattle, the reference here is doubtless to the latter.<sup>1</sup> Much more numerous are the bee-keepers, of whom there are eighteen, e.g. 28, 42; 31, 36; 69, 17; their Egyptian designation is  *blty*, which is usually taken as a derivative of *blt* 'bee', not of *blt* 'honey'; however, the determinative here, as well as the relation of the two Coptic words *ebīw* 'honey', *ebētr*, rendered by Crum 'honey-dealer', suggests that our habitual interpretation may need revision.<sup>2</sup> The men who had to do with horses have been dealt with earlier.

Sailors would hardly be expected to be found in possession of land, but three 'members of a ship's crew' ( *lst mns*)<sup>3</sup> have been accorded a few arouras apiece (47, 39. 49; 48, 3). One  *whr* 'fisherman' (15, 13) is also quoted, and three persons bear the hitherto unknown title  *sprew msh* (?), which I suspect means a 'tender (literally 'approacher') of crocodiles', 37, 17; 81, 32; 86, 9; the second of these three is stated to have been of Sherden race.

Turning now to professional men of one kind or another, I will first mention a  *swnw* 'physician' (96, 22), the only one of this calling to whom fields are attributed; he owned a plot of 10 arouras, but unfortunately it was unproductive. Among the land-holders are thirty names of simple 'scribes' ( *ss*), and a number of others had functions or affiliations which are more closely defined. The two 'scribes of the army' have been noted already. There are a few temple-scribes, one of them who is often named (e.g. 76, 26; 95, 21) being described just in that way ( *ss hwt-ntr*), while others are said to belong to the House ( *n pr*) of such and such a god: Amūn (of Karnak), 75, 39; Suchus (of Anasha), 88, 44; 96, 27, two men; Seth (of Spermeru probably), 67, 8; 70, 5. Two scribes of the Vizier Neferonpe (61, 41; 81, 36) and one attached to Pharaoh's chief charioteer 'Abpīde (31, 48, cf. 31, 39-40) had fields of their own, and so had the 'scribe of the despatch office of Pharaoh' ( *ss . . . n st šrt n Pr-ṛ*, 16, 18),<sup>4</sup> a tautologously written 'treasury scribe . . . of the Treasury of Pharaoh' ( *ss pr-hd . . . n pr pr-hd Pr-ṛ*, 47, 3), and two, both named several times, belonging to the Granary of Pharaoh ( *ss n ts šnw Pr-ṛ*, e.g. 69, 40; 77, 50);<sup>5</sup> the designations of these last scribes illustrate once again the importance of corn for the life of Egypt, for this claimed a department of its own, while all other commodities seem to have fallen under the jurisdiction of the Treasury.<sup>6</sup> Some of the scribes above mentioned, as well as others, are found as administrators of donated land, see below, pp. 86 f. Of those who held land on their own account there remain to be mentioned only a 'scribe of the House of Life' ( *ss pr-ṛnh*, 77, 15), i.e. a writer of religious and learned works,<sup>7</sup> and two 'scribes of the mat (?)' ( *ss n tm*, 17, 38; 82, 34), who appear to have belonged to the judiciary and to have been particularly concerned with disputes about agricultural matters.<sup>8</sup>

Reference has several times been made to the  *rwḏw* 'controllers', who, in the sense of the term usually to be presupposed in the Wilbour papyrus, administered lands belonging to landowners or land-owning institutions too far distant to look after their property themselves. Only eight such men are named as possessing fields of their own, e.g. 23, 41; 28, 13; 75, 20, one of them (53, 8) being further described as belonging 'to the Northern Oasis'. Among laymen our survey is now left only with a number of rather exalted personages to whom plots of no great size are attributed, and of whom a few have been mentioned already (p. 76) as employing an agent to look after their holdings. At their head is 'the King's son Amenḥikhopshef' (37, 14), not improbably the future Ramesses VI;

<sup>1</sup> For the title see *Wb.* 1, 6, 23, and for the practice see my *Admonitions*, p. 87; also the picture, Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, Pls. 31-2.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek rendering (*ZAS*, XLV, 106) is *μελισσοουργός*, so that we may justifiably follow this example and render 'bee-keeper'.

<sup>3</sup> These are welcome examples of the collective word *lst* being applied to single individuals, for which *Wb.* 1, 127, 13 appositely quotes *P. Anast. VIII*, 27-8.

<sup>4</sup> It is probably this highly placed person, 'Osēt by name, who once (36, 41) has fields assigned to him in a *pōsh*-entry of Type C, and who was in charge of three domains of the temple of Medīnet Habu §§ 64. 65. 137. But a certain Ra'mosē who looks after

some donated lands in 42, 7-8 bears the same title.

<sup>5</sup> In the case of the scribe Setnakhte (e.g. 77, 50) the adjunct 'of Pharaoh' is found only in the sub-heading of § 124.

<sup>6</sup> For the parallelism and contrast of Treasury and Granary see the *Inscription of Mes*, N 14; for a list of the things that came within the purview of the Treasury see *P. Chester Beatty V*, rt. 7, 12-8, 7, partly translated above, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> See *JEA*, XXIV, 175 ff.

<sup>8</sup> For the reading of this title see my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 17a, l. 12, n. b, and for the meaning the passage there under consideration, the Duties of the Vizier, and *Admonitions*, 6, 8-9. The extensive material requires sifting and discussion.



at most 20 arouras are assigned to him. The Vizier (76, 13-14; 90, 13; 92, 27) is not much better off, but at least he is accorded the privilege of having his land recorded in the form of a *pōsh*-entry of Type C, as though he were a god.<sup>1</sup> In this respect he fared no better, however, than the 'scribe of the despatches (or despatch-office) of Pharaoh'.<sup>2</sup> Far richer in land of the kind described in the apportioning paragraphs was the  $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$  *imy-r pr-hd* 'overseer of the Treasury' Kha'emtir (e.g. 82, 27-8; 86, 17), who, as Gunn aptly points out, was previously known from the Mallet papyrus,<sup>3</sup> but his sixteen plots amounted to no more than 194 arouras,<sup>4</sup> though of course he may have owned land in other parts of the country; the prominent steward  $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$  *imy-r pr* Usima'rēnakhte, a son of the High-priest of Amūn himself (see above, p. 20), lays claim to less than one-third of this area; for him see (e.g.) 27, 41; 65, 11. Three 'overseers of cattle' ( $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$  *imy-r ihw*) attached to different temples had also some fields of their own, (a) 6, x+15; 8, 20; (b) 59, 11. 14; 71, 14; (c) 71, 44. I have commented elsewhere<sup>5</sup> on the difficulty of the title  $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$  *idnw* 'deputy'; officials in the most diverse stations of life might each have his 'deputy', 'lieutenant', or 'substitute', and we seldom have the means of determining whether a given 'deputy' belonged to the army, to the civil administration, or to a temple. One explicitly stated to have been in command of cavalry was mentioned on p. 81. At least five other 'deputies' are registered as themselves in possession of land, e.g. 24, 17; 28, 19. 23. At the other end of the social scale, but similarly indeterminate in his functions, was the  $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$  *sdmw* 'servant', of whom five are found with land of their own (e.g. 23, 10; 81, 34), while persons so called might also look after fields for some land-owning institution (22, 17. 19, cf. 15; 85, 42, *pōsh*-entries of Type B). The most unexpected class to be found as individual holders of land were the 'slaves' ( $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$  *hm*), of whom no less than 11 are mentioned, e.g. 8, 52; 26, 35; 78, 18. There can be little doubt but that these were real slaves, and to find them owning land is of considerable interest. By way of comment I can only quote a very illegible stela from Wādy Halfah now in Cairo, which appears to record the sale of land by slaves to a certain sandal-maker.<sup>6</sup>

The land-holding priests have been left to the end of this account. As many as 112 ordinary priests ( $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$  *wrb*) are named in this way, but only in a few cases is it specified in what temples their duties were performed: there are ordinary priests of Osiris (of Khant-'Aru? 19, 37; B 24, 83), 18, 29; of Seth, 26, 33; 32, 39; 40, 11 (in this case certainly of Pi-Wayna); 54, 23 (presumably of Spermeru); of Nephthys (doubtless of Spermeru), 47, 23; of Suchus (of Anasha), 84, 37. Since only the name of the deity is mentioned in these cases, the place of the cult cannot be determined except from the context or the section in which the entry occurs. Still more difficult is this determination when not even the name of the god is given. Next upwards in hierarchical order are the 'god's fathers' ( $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$  *it-ntr*), four in number,<sup>7</sup> (a) 15, 16; 18, 10; (b) 23, 22; (c) 87, 23; 96, 13; (d) 87, 24. In the case of Pbēs (c) we can deduce from his occurrence in § 260 that he belonged to the temple of Suchus of Anasha, and the same can be conjectured of his neighbour (d) in col. 87. As regards the 'prophets' ( $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$  *hm-ntr*) we are better informed, since frequently they are named in the headings of the paragraphs as looking after the temple of the god they served. From Table III at the end of this book it will be seen that twenty different prophets are mentioned in Text A as in possession of land of their own, among them the High-priest of Amūn at Thebes, and his counterpart the 'Greatest of Seers' at Heliopolis.<sup>8</sup>

### c. The names of the land-holders

This is an interesting topic which, owing to the space it would demand and the amount of study it would entail, I deliberately refrain from treating in detail. The first task would be to correlate the deities mentioned in the theophorous names with the localities in which they occur. The names com-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 83, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, 1, pp. 51. 56. A peculiarity attaching to six of the plots is mentioned below, p. 96, and three have *it* wrongly prefixed to the number instead of *mh-t*, see p. 97. He also accompanied Ramesses IV's great expedition to the quarries of the Wādy Hammāmāt, see Couyat and Montet, *Inscriptions*, Pl. 4, l. 13.

<sup>4</sup> In two instances I have ignored the addition of angle (—) +

number which accompanies the number of arouras; on this see below, pp. 91 ff.

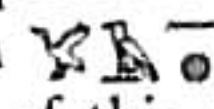
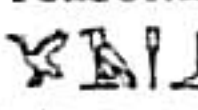
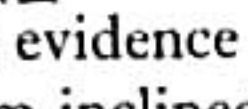
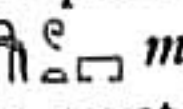

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> This stela, which bears the number  $\frac{27}{24} + \frac{6}{9}$ , is known to me only from a copy by Černý.

<sup>7</sup> A fifth (81, 22) was in charge of donated land.

<sup>8</sup> In 60, 35 there is a title of which the reading is uncertain, perhaps *fy* (*htpw*?) - *ntr* 'carrier of the divine offerings (?)'.




pounded with the god Bata of Sakō have already been mentioned (p. 50, n. 6). Compounds containing the names of the greatest of the local gods, Amūn, Prē (or Rē) and Ptaḥ, are frequent with men, and corresponding to them we find Mut or Ḥathōr with women.<sup>1</sup> In the Fayyūm and at Anasha Suchus enjoyed great prominence, as did Seth at Spermeru, and needless to say, the popularity of these gods is reflected in the masculine personal names. The hippopotamus-goddess Twēre (Thoēris) occurs in numerous compounds applying to women, and though the masculine Pentwēre was frequent throughout the entire land, the feminine names here alluded to seem likely to indicate a cult localized in one or more towns or villages; a temple of this goddess is mentioned in § 102, and we possess other evidence of her popularity in Middle Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Considering the part played by Heracleopolis in Section I, it is a little surprising that Ḥarshafnakhte (e.g. 8, 38) should be the only personal name mentioning its principal god. An 'Antiemḥab (80, 43) is naturally found in Section IV, but names compounded with Anūp (Anubis) are conspicuously absent, which is strange considering the many references to Ḥardai, the metropolis of the Cynopolite nome. It is more difficult to recognize theophorous names when the deity is represented only by an epithet. Pnekhu- ('the helper') appears from , Pnekhemnē ('the helper is in the City') to be a Theban god, and the applications of this epithet to Amūn quoted in the Berlin Dictionary (II, 304, 16. 17; 305, 1) make it reasonably certain that it was he who was so designated. Somewhat similar in form is the epithet  Pabu-<sup>3</sup> found in several different names (e.g. 36, 42; 48, 27; 59, 15) and on the somewhat tenuous evidence of  25, 47, combined with the undoubted importance of Seth in this region, I am inclined to think that that god was intended, in which case the verb, usually meaning 'desire', 'wish', will presumably have to be understood in a bad sense 'the lecherous'. On the other hand, a minor cult referred to below, p. 90, makes it possible that Pabu- may refer to Amūn. A place-name 'The Village of Pabu' is also mentioned, see above, p. 33. Quite new is the formative  *mdwt* in the female names Medjuui (30, 23), Medjue-muia (31, 10), Medjus'ankh (42, 35), and the mystery is in no way diminished by the occurrence once (30, 21) of the second of these three names with the element  Pi- in front of it. The problematical word looks as though it meant 'cow-stall', cf. the occupational title *hry mdwt* above, p. 82, and Faulkner suggests that the goddess in question presided over the milking of the cows and was the Ramesside counterpart of the Old Kingdom milk-goddess *Tit*.

Comment has been made above on the fact that the prophet of Bata was named Kanūfe 'Beautiful Bull'. I have not noted other examples of an exactly similar kind, but it seems significant that near the town of Men'onkh, where a statue of the King Setnakhte had a cult (§ 262), fields should have been owned by a priest named Usikha'rēnakhte (82, 9), whose name recalls the prenomen of the king in question. Nor can it easily be an accident that the controller or cultivator Nebwedjfa 'lord of Respite (?)'—a unique name—should come before us (e.g. 26, 5; 34, 23) just in the neighbourhood of a place where a local Amūn was worshipped under the same epithet (23, 30; 35, 21). We shall not go far wrong in guessing that the three men called P'oenninsu ('The great one of Ninsu', 7, 8; 18, 21; 27, 9) were all natives of Heracleopolis, and in a very similar way Pententhemy ('He of Tenthemy', 49, 3) may have come from the town or village of that name (Table II, No. 112), and so too Dja'dja'bu (two persons, 24, 6; 32, 39) from the Mound of Dja'dja'bu (Table II, No. 14) and Wershemgabū ('Passing the day in Gabu', 58, 22) from a place called Gabu (58, 3. 19).

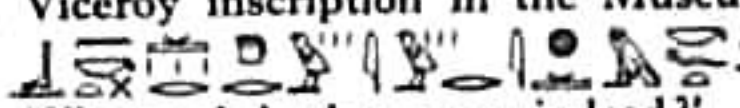
Egyptian personal names provide, as Ranke has shown,<sup>4</sup> a happy hunting-ground for quaint thoughts and picturesque allusions. In this Text-volume, however, the quarry we are pursuing is different, and I shall leave this particular sport to others. Only I cannot resist the temptation of suggesting that the hitherto unrecorded masculine name Benenka (29, 33; 36, 22; 37, 32) may signify 'No use!'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the strange hieratic writing of Ḥathōr see note a on 47, 24.

<sup>2</sup> See Roeder, art. 'Thuēris', D, 2 in Roscher, *Lexikon*.

<sup>3</sup> Ranke, *Äg. Personennamen*, p. 99, bottom, quotes several names of the kind, but they are neither so clear nor so uniformly determined with  as in the Wilbour.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Noms propres égyptiens*, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, July, 1936, pp. 293 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The sense 'profit', 'advantage' for *nkt*, unknown to the Berlin Dictionary and not surviving in Coptic, appears confirmed by *Two Brothers*, 16, 5; *Wenamūn*, 2, 61-2; but above all from a passage in a Viceroy inscription in the Museum of Fine Art at Boston:  '(They are) all of no use. What end do they serve indeed?'



#### d. The donations to the god or gods of Pharaoh; *hōnk*-entries

Entries introduced by the word *hōnk* 'donated land' are not found before 17, 11 and cease after col. 90; the thirty-seven examples are fairly equally spaced out among the intervening columns. The word *hōnk*, to which a special note is devoted below, pp. 111 ff., is followed by *hōnk* 'of the god of Pharaoh' in 28 cases, and by *hōnk* (or —)<sup>2</sup> 'of the gods of Pharaoh' in the remaining 9 cases; obviously *n n ntrw* is to be read wherever the plural occurs, though either *n* or *ntr* is always omitted in the writing. After this combination of words comes *hōnk* 'under the authority of' introducing the title and name of the military officer, scribe, official or priest who had charge of this donated land; only once is *hōnk* 'by the hand of' substituted for *hōnk*, and this (28, 43) before the name of a scribe whose name is introduced by *hōnk* in a similar entry shortly afterwards (30, 25). In one example of donated land administered by a 'captain of the shield-bearers of Pharaoh' (49, 7) the additional information is given that the land was actually cultivated by a certain 'stable-master' (*hry ih*). Thus the complete *hōnk*-entry, subtracting only the assessment at the end, may be typified in the translation

Land donated to the god (or gods) of Pharaoh under the authority of *x* (title) *N*(ame).

The persons placed in authority over such donated land seem all of considerable rank. Their titles may be analysed as follows:

**MILITARY OFFICERS** and the like. A lieutenant-commander (*idnw*) of chariotry, 17, 11; another lieutenant-commander, 31, 8; two chiefs of Hittite or Syrian warriors (*ri n thr*), 48, 9; 85, 14; a captain of the shield-bearers of Pharaoh, 49, 7; a shield-bearer of Pharaoh Sethikhopshef who occurs in four entries, 31, 21; 46, 12; 56, 18; 61, 2; a twice-named stable-master of the Residence, 81, 33; 82, 35; and lastly a charioteer, 60, 22.

**SCRIBES** are particularly frequent, but the additional descriptions given to some of them make it probable that no ordinary village clerks are among the number. The name Ra<sup>c</sup>mosē occurs eight times, twice (60, 31; 66, 16) without even the designation 'scribe', but the epithet 'who is dead' in the former case makes it at least possible that he was identical with a Ra<sup>c</sup>mosē who 'had been scribe of the King's Table' (46, 10); among the remaining scribes of the name (46, 4, 9; 52, 51; 69, 44) one (42, 7) is said to be 'of the despatch-office of Pharaoh', like a certain Seti mentioned in 61, 38. The Sobki who was 'scribe of the King's Apartments (in) She' (18, 7) was obviously of considerable rank, and so was the 'scribe of the Treasury Pentwēre' (28, 43; 30, 25), who occurs also in the heading of § 74. The Penhasi of 46, 11 may conceivably have belonged to the temple of Amūn (at Thebes), see 35, 15. Of the remaining two scribes named in this connexion (26, 32; 33, 29) nothing further is known except that one of them, Pbēs by name, may have been identical with a scribe often mentioned as a cultivator of land (22, 24; 28, 25, 27; 50, 35; 59, 29; 67, 23; 68, 2), however, the name was very common.

**CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.** Under this head we have to mention only the deceased Nefer<sup>c</sup>abē who had been mayor of Hardai (56, 46) and the overseer of the Treasury Kha<sup>c</sup>emtir (76, 24); both were men of importance; for the latter see p. 84 above.

**PRIESTS.** The High-priest of Amūn was responsible for two pieces of donated land, 50 and 60 arouras in area respectively (27, 44; 33, 30). Two provincial prophets occur in the same connexion, Kanūfe of Sakō (77, 10) and Pta<sup>c</sup>mosē (82, 33; 90, 27) of the temple of Ramesses IV at Anasha (§ 256), not counting the second prophet Kha<sup>c</sup>emtir (82, 24); whether the last-named was identical with the 'god's father' Kha<sup>c</sup>emtir (81, 22) found in charge of donated land remains uncertain.

Lastly, one plot of donated land was in the charge of a woman (37, 25), whether the widow or daughter of some officer or priest we are not informed. So too we shall later find a woman cultivating Royal lands which were under the authority of an overseer of cattle, whether because the latter was an absent or deceased relative we cannot tell.<sup>3</sup>

In Text B the careless hand of the annotator has several times added to the details concerning a given plot of *khato*-land of Pharaoh the note in red *m hōnk* . . ., see B 6, 29; 15, 1, 3, 28. Only in 15, 1, 3 are the following words legible and significant, the whole phrase in 15, 1 reading 'in donated land of the mayor Dhutmosē'. This example is important as confirming the view set forth below, p. 112, n. 4, that even on stelae where the King is depicted as the donor, a wealthy individual may occasionally have been the real giver. What is new and puzzling here is that the mayor was apparently disposing of *khato*-land of Pharaoh, not of fields in his own absolute possession. Two other examples of different kinds are B 13, 20; 18, 28.

To return to Text A, it has already (p. 17) been pointed out that there is a close relationship between

<sup>1</sup> So in 18, 7; 28, 43; 31, 21; 33, 30; 37, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Only — in 17, 11; 30, 25; 31, 8; 33, 29.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 88.



the *hōnk*-entries of the apportioning paragraphs and the four non-apportioning paragraphs (§§ 71-4) devoted to 'the god of Usima'rē-miamūn' under the authority of different officials and military officers. Not only is there a similarity in the wording and in the categories of persons set in charge, but also three of these paragraphs have *pōsh*-entries of Type A of which one (33, 4 = 38, 20-1) has in an apportioning paragraph the normal corresponding *pōsh*-entry of Type B, while the other two (33, 11 = 31, 8; 33, 15 = 30, 25) replace the *pōsh*-entry of Type B by a *hōnk*-entry of the kind here under discussion. The names and titles of the persons, as well as the places where the fields were situated, place these correspondences beyond all doubt, but in the assessments of the two *hōnk*-entries there is an inexplicable departure from the figures one would have expected if the correspondences had taken the form of *pōsh*-entries of Type B.<sup>1</sup> I merely note the fact without attempting to explain it. One conclusion of importance that emerges, however, is that the word 'Pharaoh' in the *hōnk*-entries, contrary to the rule,<sup>2</sup> does not necessarily refer to the reigning king Ramesses V; in the three correspondences just discussed it refers to Ramesses III. For this there is some confirmation in a passage of the Tomb Robberies papyri,<sup>3</sup> where a gold-plated column drum (?) dedicated to the Nefertūm of Ramesses II is many years afterwards alluded to as 'the god of Pharaoh'. The phrase, whether containing the singular 'god' or the plural 'gods', is altogether mysterious. An ostrakon from Bibān el-Mulūk, giving an extract from the journal of the workmen engaged upon the tomb of Meneptah, records that on a certain day in the 7th year 'they dragged the gods of King [Binerē]-miamūn to their places by (the command of . . .) the Vizier Penhasi'.<sup>4</sup> Daressy<sup>5</sup> conjectured that the reference was to such great wooden statues of the King covered with pitch as have been found in the Tombs of the Kings. However this may be, the 'god' or 'gods of Pharaoh' in our *hōnk*-entries must have been of a different character. I have nothing to add to the conjectures put forward on p. 17 above.

As regards the assessments and the areas of land involved, it must here suffice to say that these are of exactly the same types as the assessments of private individuals, and will be discussed together with the latter a little farther on.<sup>6</sup> The sizes of the plots are neither very large nor very small; the smallest are of 5 arouras (61, 2; 90, 27), and there is a single piece of 100 arouras (26, 32); 20 arouras is a very common figure.

### e. The *pōsh*-entries of Type B

These entries, of which I have counted 128 examples, are so intimately bound up with the general question of the meaning of *pōsh* as used in the Wilbour papyrus, as well as with the *pōsh*-entries of Type A to which they correspond, that previous discussion of them has been inevitable, and to avoid purposeless repetition I must ask the reader to refresh his memory by studying pp. 58 f., 65-70, 72-4, 77 once again. An illustration of the type will be found on pp. 58 f., where the method of its correspondence to the entry of Type A referring to the same fields is fully explained. Our principal task hereafter will be to compare the assessments of Type B with the corresponding assessments of Type A, but this cannot be undertaken until the varieties of assessment found in the apportioning paragraphs have been described and classified. At the present moment progress must be restricted to discussing in further detail the form of these entries and the personnel finding mention in them.

The general formula for *pōsh*-entries of Type B, excluding the final assessment, is

x (title) N(ame) in apportionment of land cultivated for L(and-owning) I(nstitution).

Let us now deal with the various elements in turn. By far the commonest title found at the beginning is  $\text{ⲙⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ}$  *ihwtj* 'cultivator' (sixty to seventy examples), and this, of course, is only natural in view of

<sup>1</sup> In the one genuine *pōsh*-entry of Type B corresponding to an entry of Type A in a paragraph naming the god of Ramesses III it seems that only part of the fields were affected by the transferred apportionment; 33, 3 mentions 40 arouras, while 38, 21 speaks of only 20; however, the figure of 7½ sacks in 33, 4 (the *pōsh*-entry of Type A) is the figure which the 20 arouras in 38, 21 would have led us to expect. Note that the restoration  $\text{ⲙⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ}$  given in 38, 20 of the Plates of transcription is very far from certain; as already pointed out in the corrections Pl. 73 (A),  $\text{ⲙⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ}$  is much more probable.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 10, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *P. Brit. Mus.* 10054, rt. 3, 7-11; see Pect, *Great Tomb Robberies*, p. 62 and p. 69, n. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Ostr. Cairo* 25504, rt. 2, 6; see Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, Pls. 2, 2\*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ann. Serv.*, xxvii, 170.

<sup>6</sup> See further on the assessments belonging to the *hōnk*-entries below, pp. 91 f. On p. 96 the conclusion will be reached that the entries in 18, 7; 82, 36 giving the figure 20, and that giving 40 in 82, 34, besides the 50 in 27, 44; 85, 15, the 60 in 33, 30, and the 80 in 42, 8, must refer to arouras, and not to land-cubits.



the frequency of the same title in the body of the non-apportioning paragraphs, where many of the entries correspond to our *pōsh*-entries of Type B, see above, pp. 66 ff. The minimum meaning that must attach to this title is that its bearer was made responsible for the taxation of the plot in question; to that extent the person named was a cultivator or farmer, though farming or control of farmers may not have constituted his chief function or have given him his most usual title. To the evidence quoted on pp. 66 f., 82 in support of this last possibility may be added the Rosasa of 22, 17. 19. 21, who is clearly identical with the *sdmw* of that name in 22, 15; also the Amenemhab of 93, 18; 95, 40; 100, 27, who is the *rwḏw* 'controller' in the sub-heading of § 219, to which there are cross-references. The same controller is explicitly described as such in the *pōsh*-entries 87, 29; 88, 6, and conversely the identical title of Phenu in 28, 13; 31, 43. 47, that of Pra'emhab in 38, 38, and that of Dhutmosē in 57, 10 might equally accurately have been given as 'cultivator'.<sup>1</sup> Everything tends to confirm my previously expressed view (pp. 21, 83) that the *rwḏw* 'controller' was an official who looked after the interests of people or institutions unable for one reason or another to perform this function for themselves; in the Wilbour papyrus they are, as we have seen, mainly attached to the great temples of the capital cities, far away from the estates in question, or else, as often in Text B—see the headings there of §§ 54–61—they are land-agents of the King. How far they concerned themselves with the actual tilling of the soil is naturally beyond our ken.

The same holds good, *mutatis mutandis*, for the bearers of the other titles found at the beginning of these *pōsh*-entries. Two prophets are named, Pra'emhab in 25, 5 and Wennofrē in 40, 7, both clearly charged with responsibility for fields lying near their temples. In the ten cases where an ordinary *wēb*-priest is mentioned (6, 9; 10, 7; 57, 6. 13. 31; 62, 23; 63, 37. 45; 81, 26; 88, 32) the rest of the entry usually provides evidence that he is acting as subordinate and representative of a prophet whose name is given. In similar fashion the 'soldier' Penpred told off to administer *khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the 'standard-bearer' Merenptah (38, 9) was obviously an underling of that rather important officer.<sup>2</sup> Scribes are often named (28, 21. 25; 45, 28; 46, 48; 68, 2; 81, 28; 85, 39; 86, 45; 88, 38. 41), and were the natural deputies for officials of many kinds. It is doubtless this employment of subordinates for work which a functionary was unable or unwilling to undertake in person that is responsible for the lack of agreement in the cultivators named in corresponding passages of the apportioning and the non-apportioning paragraphs. That matter was discussed in considerable detail on pp. 65–70 ff. above, the conclusion being reached that the cultivator specified, or implied by a pronoun, in the lines ending in a *pōsh*-entry of Type A often was, but need not be, identical with the cultivator named in the corresponding entry of Type B. In the latter occurrence, the simplest hypothesis is that the cultivator in the entry of Type B was either a superior or an inferior of the cultivator in the corresponding entry, and there seems some likelihood that then the two men will have belonged to the same professional category, whether sacerdotal, military or merely agricultural.

There seems but little further comment of interest to make upon the ranks exemplified at the beginning of these *pōsh*-entries. We find, besides those mentioned in the two last paragraphs, one more 'servant' (*sdmw*, 85, 42), one more 'soldier' (*wrw*, 99, 8), and one more 'standard-bearer' (*try sryt*, 37, 35); the last of these is of Sherden race, and likewise in 57, 43. 45 it is a Sherden individual who has charge of fields belonging to the House of the Queen. Two 'deputies' (*idnw*, 16, 31; 93, 3) occur, neither of them apparently using this designation in the military sense of 'lieutenant-commander', and the former being an official of the Harem of Mi-wēr. One 'stable-master' (*hry ih*, 91, 36) is mentioned, and one 'chief of *thr*-warriors' (*cr (n) thr*, 38, 20), whose duties concern a statue or group associated with Ramesses III of which he himself may have been the donor.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, as in the *hōnk*-entries (p. 86), there is one lady (*cnh n nwt*, 59, 22), who may possibly have been representing an absent husband or father.

Passing to the element that has won for these entries the name of *pōsh*-entries, I have already mentioned

<sup>1</sup> For this reason the restoration [*rwḏ*]w in 24, 21 before the name of Nebwedjfa is only one of two possibilities; this very man is described as *ihwt*y in 34, 23.

<sup>2</sup> His importance emerges from the large number of *khato*-

lands named in Text B as under his care; see § 7, which enumerates such fields in no less than 56 different places.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 86 f.



(pp. 58 f.) the rare variants which enable us to interpret this as  $\text{𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴} \text{ } \text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴} \text{ } \text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$  'in division for cultivated land of', i.e. 'in apportionment of land cultivated for'. The usual equivalent of *m pš n*, let it be recalled, is  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$ , and apart from the aforementioned variants  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$  and  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$ , the deviations from the norm turn solely on the number of ticks. It happens only a few times that more than one *pōsh*-entry of Type B immediately follow one another, and the examples that exist refer in each case to one and the same cultivator, see 2, x+12, x+14, x+15 restored; 59, 18-20. Alike here and in two examples where a simple entry referring to a given cultivator is followed by a *pōsh*-entry of Type B also referring to him (63, 38; 87, 8), some adaptation of the formula  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴} \text{ } \text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴} \text{ } \text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$  *ky hry n f* 'another measurement for him' (p. 75) was obviously called for. In two of the three undamaged instances  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$  has merely been added, yielding  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴} \text{ } \text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴} \text{ } \text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$  *ky hry n f m pš n*, literally 'another measurement for him in division for', see 59, 20; 87, 8; in the third instance (63, 38), showing  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$ , the words 'measurement for him' are left unexpressed; it is noticeable in all three cases that the pronoun *f* has lost even that small measure of distinctiveness it usually has.

Not in a single example, so far as my observation goes, has  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$ , or some such cursive equivalent of  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$  *ihl* 'cultivated land', been omitted, and since all *pōsh*-entries of Type B either possess, or ought to possess, counterparts in the non-apportioning paragraphs, it is obvious, as already remarked (p. 58), that this expression harks back to the same word so characteristic as the initial word of assessment-lines in those paragraphs. Variants which have either the dot representing  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$  or the upright stroke representing the final  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$ , or both, are common in this class of *pōsh*-entry, see (e.g.) 24, 35; 25, 5; 76, 22; there can be no possible doubt about the reading.

Owing to the desire to compress these *pōsh*-entries, if not into a single line, at least into reasonably small space, the designations of the land-owning institutions are usually abbreviated, cf. what was said above about the *pōsh*-entries of Type A, pp. 72 f. More even in those of Type B than in those of Type A was it often necessary to incorporate a reference to the sub-heading or sub-sub-heading of a paragraph, as well as to the heading, and though simple mentions like 'House of Nephthys' for 'House of Nephthys of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Seth' (*scil.* of Spermeru) are sometimes found (e.g. 57, 6 = 64, 10 in § 168), it is more usual to find the name of the temple supplemented by allusion to a particular 'domain' (*rmnyt*). Thus we find in 24, 35-6 'the Mansion of Hekma'rē-setpenamūn, domain the deputy Iia' equivalent to a three-line heading in § 60, wherein occurs the corresponding *pōsh*-entry of Type A (29, 10), and the last line of the three (the sub-sub-heading) reads 'Domain of this house under the authority of the deputy Iia'. When, in a *pōsh*-entry of Type B, the official in charge of the domain in question is referred to by a pronoun, the words following the name of the temple are apt to take the form  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴} \text{ } \text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$  *rmnyt (r)-ht f* 'domain under his authority', e.g. 38, 19, and this affords the reason why above I did not translate 'domain of the deputy Iia', the words 'the deputy Iia' not being a genitive after *rmnyt*, but the word  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$  (*r*)-*ht* 'under the authority of' having been omitted for sake of brevity. With the pronoun the formula may be still further abbreviated to  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$ , e.g. 38, 39, and here again *f* is doubtless not to be regarded as genitival, but the last few ticks are substituted for  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$  (*r*)-*ht*. When the same temple and domain are meant as in a *pōsh*-entry of Type B just preceding, the entire entry may take the form 'x (title) N(ame) in apportionment of land cultivated for  $\text{𐎠𐎥𐎢𐎴}$  this house under his authority', e.g. 26, 7. 9, the identity of the temple meant here being proved by the heading of the paragraph (§ 77) where the corresponding Type A entries (34, 14. 17) occur, this coinciding, though in extended form, with the preceding Type B entry 26, 3-5. It seems unnecessary to elaborate this topic further, except to say that on occasion a doubt may occur whether the pronoun *f* corresponds to a person named in a paragraph sub-heading or to the cultivator mentioned at the beginning of the *pōsh*-entry itself; that cultivator and the person in the sub-heading may of course be one and the same, as (e.g.) Phenu in 28, 11 (= 34, 40), identical with P[henu] in 34, 29.

*Pōsh*-entries of Type B which have no corresponding entries of Type A are even rarer than the reverse position, for which see p. 73. Of straightforward normal examples only 22, 19; 87, 4 can be quoted; 38, 12 has no figures in its assessment, and to that extent is abnormal. The three instances 87, 40. 43; 88, 17 lack counterparts only because the paragraphs of Section IV dealing with the *khato*-



lands of Pharaoh either have been erased at the end of Text A or never were contained in the Wilbour papyrus at all. The two entries 27, 8; 32, 7 quote as their land-owning institution that mysterious 'second house' or 'third house' of which mention was made on p. 22, and of these 32, 7 is further exceptional inasmuch as it gives its assessment in a form not found in any *pōsh*-entry of Type B except the no less mysterious 35, 9 and the two *hōnk*-entries (30, 25; 31, 8) which act as substitutes for Type B entries in a particular case (above, p. 87); on the form in question see below, pp. 91-3.

As regards the land-owning institutions which occur in these *pōsh*-entries there is nothing to be added, or which I at all events can add, to the statements on pp. 73 f. Any attempt at an explanation must stand over for the present.

#### f. The *pōsh*-entries of Type C

These, only 37 in number, have been dealt with fairly fully on p. 59, and the main addition that seems desirable is to enumerate the minor cults that here find mention. Keeping to the alphabetic order of the Egyptian names, these are as follows:

AMŪN: *n ibw* 'of Desire',<sup>1</sup> 66, 5; 95, 31 (*m*); 95, 33 (*m*); *Inmt* 'of Ian-Mut',<sup>2</sup> 26, 11; *ntlwy* 'Antiwey',<sup>3</sup> 96, 3; *pī wr* (or *lwr*) 'the Great' (or 'Aged'), 80, 27; *mīl nīwt* 'Lion of His Town', 37, 20; *tī mīw(t)* 'of the Island', 17, 9; *n pī mr* 'of the Canal', 84, 4; 31; *mry-lī* 'Beloved of Ia (?)', 68, 19; *nīwt* 'of the City', 36, 36; 60, 2; *nb wdf* 'lord of Respite (?)', 23, 30; 35, 21; *ns(w)t trwy* 'of Thrones of the Two Lands', 78, 14; 85, 17; *Sbkms* 'of Sebkmosē', 88, 22; *sdm wī* 'who hears from afar',<sup>4</sup> 54, 27; *tī šnwt* 'of the Granary', 45, 18; *šdh m nīwt* 'Must in the City',<sup>5</sup> 84, 2; *Tīy* 'Tjayef',<sup>6</sup> 27, 48.

HATHŌR: *n šīsw* 'of Shōs',<sup>7</sup> 61, 9.

SUCHUS: no epithet, 31, 18; 80, 45; 82, 47; *n pī mī* 'of P-ma',<sup>8</sup> 35, 34; *nb wr* 'the Sole Lord', 46, 14; *nb šrpt* 'Lord of Sharopē', 46, 7.

SETH: *n tī dnīl* 'of the Dyke', 37, 23.

THOĒRIS: no epithet, 59, 37.

Altogether cryptic is the name Kha'sebprē ('Arises the star of the Sun?') in 95, 44; 96, 29; neither as the name of a deity nor as that of a person does it carry conviction. Lastly, reminder must be made of the two entries of this type referring to the Vizier Neferronpe (76, 13; 90, 13) and to the entry referring to the Despatch-writer of Pharaoh (36, 41); these have been sufficiently discussed on p. 59.

In a considerable number of cases a person is named by whose agency (*m-drt*, never (*r*)-*ht*) the fields in question were cultivated. Not uncommonly the name is left without a title, e.g. 26, 11; 31, 18; 35, 34; 37, 23; eleven times in all. Five times (17, 9; 35, 21; 59, 37; 80, 27; 88, 23) the cultivator is an ordinary priest (*wrēb*); three times (27, 48; 76, 13; 90, 13) he is described simply as a 'cultivator'. The other titles found are 'scribe (?)', 23, 30; 'Sherden', 45, 18; and once 'prophet', 36, 41; besides which are mentioned one 'slave' (*hm*), 36, 36, and one 'lady', 82, 47.

#### g. The assessments of the apportioning paragraphs

The difference between the assessments of the apportioning and non-apportioning paragraphs was briefly characterized on p. 55, where it was noted that those of the apportioning paragraphs are not all of one type. Proceeding now to details, we may classify them into two varieties, each with a sub-variety of its own. The external differentia is the use or the absence of red ink. In the first variety a black group is followed by two figures in red separated by a black  $\text{𓅓}$ , the sign for m(easure of) c(orn); and the last figure is always 1: '1 $\frac{2}{4}$  mc.'<sup>9</sup> The second variety, on the contrary, shows no red writing at all, but either two black groups of figures, or else one group followed by an abbreviated word or phrase. It will soon emerge that the assessments with the final red 1: are all concerned with holdings reckoned in terms of the 'aroura' ( $\frac{1}{2}$  *št*, *sōte*), i.e. about  $\frac{2}{3}$  acre, while the assessments in black are, though perhaps not quite without exception, in terms of the  $\text{𓅓}$  *mḥ-tī* 'land-cubit', which

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps in reference to his aspect as the ithyphallic Min, see above, p. 85. Two of the three examples write *m* for the genitival *n*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> For this god see Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 51.

<sup>4</sup> A form of Amūn bearing this name is mentioned in § 23 as having a temple somewhere near the Fayyūm.

<sup>5</sup> For *šdh*, wine of some sort, see *Wb.* iv, 568.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 33, 36, and in the Synopsis under § 97.

<sup>7</sup> The shrine or statue was situated at a village called Pen-shōs 'That of (the) Nomad', 61, 4.

<sup>8</sup> This is the village given as No. 75 in Table II, as is shown by the line of measurement 35, 32 immediately preceding.

<sup>9</sup> With one single exception, see below, pp. 102 f.



The above brief excursion into theory must be followed by the detailed description of the two varieties of assessment with their sub-varieties, and these will be classified under the heads I, IA, II, IIA.

A 66, 35 .<sup>|||</sup>.<sub>⊕</sub><sup>|||</sup> .<sub>⊗</sub> .<sup>|||</sup> .<sub>⊕</sub> .<sup>|||</sup> , mc. I?

The kind of assessment exemplified above not only is very common with private holders of land, but also is found almost without exception in *pōsh*-entries of Type B. It is fairly frequent also in *pōsh*-entries of Type C, much less so with *hōnk*-entries.<sup>2</sup> The black figure, or basic number of arouras, ranges between 1 and 40, if we exclude for the moment the *pōsh*-entries of Type B, as well as those of the sub-variety next to be discussed; plots of 3 and 5 arouras, i.e. about 2 and 3 acres, are far commoner than others. The first red figure in the vast majority of cases is  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$  or 1 aroura, though a few times 2 or even 3 arouras occur, chiefly when the initial black number is 10 or more than 10. In this statement I again exclude the *pōsh*-entries of Type B, which show much higher figures, as we shall see later.

(i) The black number only:

(ii) The black number in combination with the first red figure:

(iii) The first red figure only:

IA. This much less common<sup>22</sup> sub-variety of the type of assessment above described differs from it

<sup>22</sup> There are 232 examples against more than 1,000 of the main variety, excluding from the latter the *pōsh*-entries of Type B.



only in substituting for the first black number of arouras a more complex expression, adding to the said number a sign which the first scribe writes like a right angle with shorter vertical member, following this by a second black number that is usually low and never more than the first number. Examples are:

A 17, 12 .n┘||.x/⊥: .10┘5.1 mc. I?  
 A 54, 9 .n┘n⊥/⊥: .20┘10.1 mc. I?  
 A 60, 23 .n┘nnnn┘n.x/⊥: 40 arouras┘10.1 mc. I?

The addition prefaced by ┘, as well as that sign itself, is utterly obscure. The first scribe sometimes writes the sign with the angle a good deal less than a right angle, e.g.  $\angle$  in 31, 18, and the second scribe employs a form  $\angle$  (see note *b* on 96, 2) which makes it more than doubtful whether a mere angle was really intended. It seems palaeographically impossible to regard, as Černý has suggested we should, this sign as an eccentric form of the hieratic  $\lambda$  so frequently employed for 'balance' in accounts<sup>1</sup> and very often found in Text B to express the number of arouras 'left', i.e. perhaps left unallotted to a cultivator; A 22, 33; 71, 28 have perfectly normal hieratic  $\lambda$  in personal names. It is noticeable that this sub-variety often involves a somewhat higher initial number, and whereas we found plots of 3 and 5 arouras the most frequent sizes under (I) above, here plots of 10 and 20 arouras are much commoner. A baffling feature is that the figure following the angle ┘ is so often 5, though 1, 2, 10 and even 20 are also found, without intervening quantities. On this topic I have been unable to frame any hypothesis possessing the slightest degree of plausibility. The nature of the figures does not favour the notions (e.g.) of the plot lying in 5 separate places, or at the charge of 5 different persons, or with payment due in 5 instalments. In Greek papyri a similar sign ┘ is used to signify subtraction, but this again affords no help.

The numbers of arouras involved in this sub-variety of assessment being higher than in the normal variety, it is but natural that the holders of the plots in question should often be men of some rank, e.g. priests or stable-masters. The sub-variety is particularly favoured by the *hōnk*-entries, where I have counted no less than 23 examples out of the complete number of 37, e.g. 17, 11; 26, 32; 28, 43; 30, 25. With *pōsh*-entries of Type C it is not so common—here I have found 12 examples out of a total of 37, e.g. 26, 11; 31, 18; 35, 21; 36, 36. In *pōsh*-entries of Type B the sub-variety is, as already mentioned, found only in the two peculiar cases 32, 7; 35, 9, as well as in the two *hōnk*-entries virtually equivalent to *pōsh*-entries of that type, namely 30, 25; 31, 8.

It requires five separate tables to display the frequency of the different figures alone and in combination; here again occurrences numbering less than five obtain precise references in footnotes; broken examples have not been counted.

(i) The first number alone:

Arouras	2	3	5	8	10	20	40	50	60	80	100
Occurrences	1 <sup>2</sup>	11	39	1 <sup>3</sup>	111	55	3 <sup>4</sup>	4 <sup>5</sup>	4 <sup>6</sup>	1 <sup>7</sup>	2 <sup>8</sup>

(ii) The second number alone:

[Arouras??]	1	2	5	10	20
Occurrences	55	1 <sup>9</sup>	166	9	1 <sup>10</sup>

(iii) The third number alone:

Arouras	1	1	1	1 <sup>1</sup>	2
Occurrences	105	62	54	6	5

(iv) The first and second black numbers in combination:

Arouras	2┘1	3┘1	5┘1	5┘5	8┘5	10┘1	10┘2
Occurrences	1 <sup>2</sup>	11	33	6	1 <sup>3</sup>	7	1 <sup>11</sup>
Arouras	10┘5	20┘1	20┘5	20┘10	40┘5	40┘10	50┘5
Occurrences	103	1 <sup>12</sup>	49	5	1 <sup>13</sup>	2 <sup>14</sup>	2 <sup>15</sup>
Arouras	50┘10	50┘20	60┘1	60┘5	80┘5	100┘5	100┘10
Occurrences	1 <sup>16</sup>	1 <sup>17</sup>	2 <sup>18</sup>	2 <sup>19</sup>	1 <sup>7</sup>	1 <sup>20</sup>	1 <sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *JEA*, xxvii, 49, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 28, 43; 60, 23. 32.

<sup>3</sup> 31, 8; 75, 49; 81, 40; 95, 44.

<sup>4</sup> 26, 32; 97, 5.

<sup>5</sup> 53, 22.

<sup>6</sup> 27, 41. 42; 49, 5; 97, 36.

<sup>7</sup> 46, 10.

<sup>8</sup> 48, 19.

<sup>9</sup> 49, 5.

<sup>10</sup> 96, 2.

<sup>11</sup> 97, 36.

<sup>12</sup> 31, 8; 75, 49.

<sup>13</sup> 48, 19.

<sup>14</sup> 28, 43.

<sup>15</sup> 49, 5.

<sup>16</sup> 26, 32.

<sup>17</sup> 97, 5.

<sup>18</sup> 60, 23. 32.

<sup>19</sup> 81, 40; 95, 44.

<sup>20</sup> 26, 32.

<sup>21</sup> 97, 5.



(v) The two black figures in combination with the first red one:

Arouras	2	3	3	5	5	5
Occurrences	1 <sup>1</sup>	10	1 <sup>2</sup>	31 <sup>3</sup>	2 <sup>4</sup>	5
Arouras	5	8	10	10	10	10
Occurrences	1 <sup>5</sup>	1 <sup>6</sup>	6	1 <sup>7</sup>	1 <sup>8</sup>	29
Arouras	10	10	10	10	20	
Occurrences	39	31	2 <sup>9</sup>	2 <sup>10</sup>	1 <sup>11</sup>	
Arouras	20	20	20	20	20	
Occurrences	14	16	15	4 <sup>12</sup>	1 <sup>13</sup>	
Arouras	20	20	40	40	40	
Occurrences	1 <sup>14</sup>	3 <sup>15</sup>	1 <sup>16</sup>	1 <sup>17</sup>	1 <sup>18</sup>	
Arouras	50	50	50	60	60	60
Occurrences	2 <sup>19</sup>	1 <sup>20</sup>	1 <sup>21</sup>	2 <sup>22</sup>	1 <sup>23</sup>	1 <sup>24</sup>
Arouras	80	100	100			
Occurrences	1 <sup>25</sup>	1 <sup>26</sup>	1 <sup>27</sup>			

II. The second main variety of assessment found in the apportioning paragraphs consists of two black figures or groups of figures each usually preceded by a black dot, though sometimes the dot before the first figure is replaced by the word  $\Xi$  *mh-t* 'land-cubit'. Examples are:

A 23, 19 . . . . . 20.80

A 86, 20 . . . . . 4.20

A 86, 6  $\Xi$  . . . . . land-cubits 4.20

It will be seen that the first of the two numbers gives a much smaller area than the second, and that the sum of the two numbers is almost without exception a multiple of 5 or 6. This emerges from the following tables; here again references are given for combinations occurring less than five times.<sup>28</sup>

(i) First number	1	1?	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	
Second number	11	14	23	49	99	4	8	10	22	
Total	[12]	[15?]	[24]	[50]	[100]	[6]	[10]	[12]	[24]	
Occurrences	6	2 <sup>29</sup>	3 <sup>30</sup>	1 <sup>31</sup>	4 <sup>32</sup>	1 <sup>33</sup>	1 <sup>34</sup>	20	14	
First number	2	2	2	2	3	4	4	5	5	
Second number	34	48	73	98	8	8	20	19	45	
Total	[36]	[50]	[75]	[100]	[11]	[12]	[24]	[24]	[50]	
Occurrences	1 <sup>35</sup>	5	1 <sup>36</sup>	5	2 <sup>37</sup>	17	30	2 <sup>38</sup>	16	
First number	5	5	10	10	10	10	10	20	20	60
Second number	95	195	14	26	40	90	190	80	180	140
Total	[100]	[200]	[24]	[36]	[50]	[100]	[200]	[100]	[200]	[200]
Occurrences	9	1 <sup>39</sup>	7	1 <sup>40</sup>	28	7	1 <sup>41</sup>	18	2 <sup>42</sup>	2 <sup>43</sup>

It will be seen from these 207 examples of the type—a number of much-damaged ones have been ignored—that there is only one total, namely 11, found in two clear examples, which is not a multiple of 5 or 6. The lower limit is 6 land-cubits, constituting a plot of no more than 164 square metres, or less than 13 metres each way; in the Sub-variety IIA we shall find mentioned, however, plots even smaller than this—if they are to be taken as referring to land-cubits, which is doubtful. The upper limit here is 200 land-cubits, i.e. 2 arouras.

It may be useful to add two more tabulations, the one to show the ways in which the totals are made up, and the other starting with the second number instead of the first.

<sup>1</sup> 53, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Four of these (96, 8–11) have  $\times$  corrected out of  $\leftarrow$ .

<sup>3</sup> 96, 12, 13.

<sup>4</sup> 81, 30.

<sup>5</sup> 32, 21.

<sup>6</sup> 90, 26.

<sup>7</sup> 48, 19.

<sup>8</sup> 27, 32; 52, 17.

<sup>9</sup> 33, 41; 44, 32.

<sup>10</sup> 96, 2.

<sup>11</sup> 26, 29–31; 29, 26.

<sup>12</sup> 66, 16.

<sup>13</sup> 54, 9.

<sup>14</sup> 56, 32; 76, 24; 96, 6.

<sup>15</sup> 28, 43.

<sup>16</sup> 60, 23.

<sup>17</sup> 60, 32.

<sup>18</sup> 27, 41, 42.

<sup>19</sup> 97, 36.

<sup>20</sup> 49, 5.

<sup>21</sup> 81, 40; 95, 44.

<sup>22</sup> 31, 8.

<sup>23</sup> 75, 49.

<sup>24</sup> 46, 10.

<sup>25</sup> 26, 32.

<sup>26</sup> 97, 5.

<sup>27</sup> When one of the numbers is damaged it is sometimes pos-

sible to restore it by reference to parallels or to the total to be presupposed. In this case  $d$  is added to the reference.

<sup>28</sup> 8, 37, 38. The first number is lost, and may well have been 10, see below.

<sup>29</sup> 23, 6, 7; 88, 11.

<sup>30</sup> 87, 2.

<sup>31</sup> 86, 26, 28, 29d; 87, 6.

<sup>32</sup> 32, 46.

<sup>33</sup> 23, 44.

<sup>34</sup> 6,  $x+5$ .

<sup>35</sup> 8, 15d.

<sup>36</sup> 18, 2, 3.

<sup>37</sup> 57, 9; 84, 5.

<sup>38</sup> 28, 27.

<sup>39</sup> 40, 46.

<sup>40</sup> 8, 22.

<sup>41</sup> 7, 4; 16, 24d.

<sup>42</sup> 7, 1, 3.



## COMMENTARY ON TEXT A

(ii) Total Constituents Occurrences	[6] 2+4 1	[10] 2+8 1	[11] 3+8 2	[12] 1+11 6	[12] 2+10 20	[12] 4+8 17	[15?] [1?+14] 2?
In all	1	1	2	43			2?
Total Constituents Occurrences	[24] 1+23 3	[24] 2+22 14	[24] 4+20 30	[24] 5+19 2	[24] 10+14 7	[36] 2+34 1	[36] 10+26 1
In all	56					2	
Total Constituents Occurrences	[50] 1+49 1	[50] 2+48 5	[50] 5+45 16	[50] 10+40 28	75 2+73 1		
In all	50				1		
Total Constituents Occurrences	[100] 1+99 4	[100] 2+98 5	[100] 5+95 9	[100] 10+90 7	[100] 20+80 18		
In all	43						
Total Constituents Occurrences	[200] 5+195 1	[200] 10+190 1	[200] 20+180 2	[200] 60+140 2			
In all	6						

## (iii) Complementary numbers, starting with the second and higher number:

Second number	4	8	8	8	10	11	14	14	19	20	22	23	26
First number	2	2	3	4	2	1	1?	10	5	4	2	1	10
Second number	34	40	45	48	49	73	80	90	95	98	99		140
First number	2	10	5	2	1	2	20	10	5	2	1		60
Second number	180	190	195										
First number	20	10	5										

IIA. This sub-variety has only one number, which is written in black and is always, with the exception of the three lowest figures 2, 3 and 4, a multiple of 5 or 6; in place of the second number we regularly find one of four different abbreviated expressions evidently explaining why the previous number indicates the total area of the plot, instead of splitting it up into two very unequal parts as was done in the assessments studied under II. The four abbreviated expressions are very cursorily written and only in one of them, that here labelled  $\alpha$ , is the interpretation beyond dispute.<sup>1</sup>

( $\alpha$ )  $\text{𐤀𐤌𐤍}$  *m šwt* 'being dry', see 2, x+2, with the note *b* on the plate; so too (e.g.) 24, 38. 42; 37, 1; sometimes the final  $\omega$  is omitted or absorbed into the preceding sign, as in 37, 4. 8; 41, 1. Cf.  $\text{𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤍}$  *ihl gm šw* 'cultivable land found dry' twice in non-apportioning paragraphs, 34, 9; also in 5, x+7, but damaged. By a curious chance this comment, which is much rarer than  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ ,<sup>2</sup> apparently does not occur in either Section III or Section IV. The equivalent expression in the Greek papyri is  $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ .<sup>3</sup>

( $\beta$ )  $\text{𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤍}$  *wšr??* 'waterless??', doubtful in the last degree. The transcription suggested is based, so far as  $\text{𐤀}$  is concerned, on examples like 14, 11; 76, 9, but even there the sign is extremely dubious; the following  $\text{𐤀𐤌𐤍}$  is more probable, without being in any way certain, see 14, 17; 76, 9. In this exact form the abbreviation appears only in 8, 25; 10, 14-16; five times in col. 14, and fourteen times between cols. 75 and 91. There is also a form with prefixed  $\text{𐤀}$  3, x+11 (?); 14, 46, and another unique variant  $\text{𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤍}$  *m bw-wšr??*, 2, x+7. An abstract of the type *bw-nfr*, *bw-dw* seems improbable at this period,

<sup>1</sup> The reading is due to Černý.

<sup>2</sup> Sixteen times excluding those implied by the 'ditto'-sign.

<sup>3</sup> Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 9 ff. This author points out, however, that the Greek term does not absolutely exclude the

possibility of being irrigated or being fertile; the exact technical meaning seems very hard to catch; Schnebel's final definition, see *op. cit.*, 19-20. Prof. Heichelheim would prefer to identify *m šwt* with  $\alpha\beta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ .



but since no suffix follows, it is unlikely that *bw* could here be the negative word. If by any chance my guess were correct, one might give *ἄβροχος* 'unwatered' as a Greek parallel.<sup>1</sup>

(γ) *wsf* 'resting', 'idle', 'fallow'. Though reading and interpretation are alike uncertain (see note *a* on 6, 22, Pl. 2a), the suggestion has sufficient probability to warrant the omission of a note of interrogation. The abbreviation *wsf* is common in Ramesside texts of persons 'resting' from work, whether wilfully or not, but I have not encountered the stem *wsf* applied to fields; Crum, *Copt. Dict.*, 492, quotes one example of *ωσφε* so used. If the interpretation is correct, one may compare in the Greek papyri *ἀνάπαυμα* or *ἀνάπαυσις*.<sup>2</sup> The designation *tnl* 'tired land' (see above, pp. 28 f.) shows that the agriculturalists of the Pharaonic period were aware that the fields might become worn out, but we have only the testimony of our doubtful group to indicate a belief that lying fallow would be a remedy. This abbreviation is common, see for example many cases in cols. 6. 7. 8. 14. 17. 23, &c.

(δ) *Je*. Three of the four signs in this very frequent type of comment are certain, and though the abbreviation is given in this sceptical form in the Plates (see Pl. 6a, the note on 15, 2), I now think that two examples (89, 37; 90, 34), where the penultimate sign is not, as usual, written in ligature with its neighbours, lend much probability to the reading *Je* *bw ptri-f* 'it was not seen'.<sup>3</sup> The writing with one tick corresponding to the *e* of *Je* is common, but others with two (e.g. 57, 39; 65, 32) or three (e.g. 65, 18; 75, 43) ticks are far from rare. There are many reasons why a plot recorded in the lists of the assessors may not have been seen, and could therefore not be assessed; it may have been still under water (*ἔμβροχος*), or transferred to some other owner, or a false claim, or a mere mistake. There is no positive ground for any of these conjectures; here I am concerned only to show that *bw ptri-f* would be a sensible comment.

When either *α* or *δ* required to be understood in the next line, the more elaborate 'ditto'-sign — was used; it stands for *m šwt* e.g. in 24, 39 ff. and for *bw ptri-f* (?) e.g. in 26, 16 ff. It may even be employed at the top of a column referring to an entry in the preceding column, e.g. 42, 1 ff.

Some complete entries of the Sub-variety IIA must now be given by way of illustration. Though long consecutive runs of one and the same type are by no means uncommon, e.g. 15, 2-9; 23, 25-8; 75, 28-37, it seems more illuminating to quote a series of consecutive lines in which entries of different kinds alternate:

A 75, 39-51		land-cubits, 5.95	Var. II
		.6 unwatered?	Sub-var. IIA (β)
		.12 unwatered?	Sub-var. IIA (β)
		.24 unwatered?	Sub-var. IIA (β)
		.5 it was not seen?	Sub-var. IIA (δ)
		.24 unwatered?	Sub-var. IIA (β)
		.3 it was not seen?	Sub-var. IIA (β)
		.3 " " "	Sub-var. IIA (δ)
		.3 " " "	Sub-var. IIA (δ)
(new place of measurement)		.60 — 5.1 mc. 14	Sub-var. IA
		land-cubits, 2.22	Var. II
		.5, unwatered?	Sub-var. IIA (β)

Here we see exemplified, besides two of the four kinds of comment explaining why the area of a plot has not been split up, the fact that such areas show a preference for 5 or 6 or their multiples, also the identity of these areas with the sum of the parts when the plot is split up ( $5 + 95 = 100$ , a multiple of 5;  $2 + 22 = 24$ , a multiple of 6), the occasional insertion of *mḥ-t* 'land-cubit', and lastly the parallelism of these entries with one of Sub-class IA. Readers may be left to examine for themselves further instructive passages such as 28, 25-50, where also other interesting features are illustrated, e.g. the numbers employed in *pōsh*-entries of Type B, for which see below.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 24 ff. Prof. Heichelheim would prefer to identify *wsf* with *χέρσος*.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Je* as an abbreviation for *ptri* is common in the Tomb-

robberies papyri edited by Peet, and occurs also, e.g. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 13, 7; 66, 13. See too *op. cit.*, 66, 4. 13 for writings like differing from the Wilbour examples with more than one tick only by the clear writing of



Assuming for the moment that all examples of the Sub-variety IIA are in terms of land-cubits, the following table exhibits the frequency of the various areas found:

Land-cubits	2	3	4	5	6	10	12	18	20	24	30	36	40	50	60
Occurrences	4 <sup>1</sup>	35	1 <sup>2</sup>	14 <sup>2</sup>	6	49	64	1 <sup>3</sup>	23	20	2 <sup>4</sup>	1 <sup>5</sup>	6	49	1 <sup>6</sup>
Land-cubits	75	100	200	500											
Occurrences	3 <sup>7</sup>	39	12	3 <sup>8</sup>											

In comparing these figures with those under Variety II above (pp. 93 f.) it must be remembered that Sub-variety IIA is represented by 461 examples, whereas for Variety II only 207 were counted. Under II the lowest total area was 6 land-cubits, whereas here we seem to have plots of 2, 3, 4 and 5, these last being very numerous. Since with these lower numbers the word *mḥ-t* 'land-cubit' is never prefixed—for that matter neither is the word *št-t* 'aroura'—it may be asked whether here areas in arouras were not intended, the more so since it seems odd that so little mention should be made in the apportioning paragraphs of several-aroura plots that were dry, unwatered, lying fallow, or unseen; we fail to grasp why these attributes should be confined to fields measuring less than an aroura.

Before taking up, however, the question of the units of area used in the apportioning paragraphs, it may be well to note that included in the above tabulation of occurrences are a few entries where no comment or further figures have been added to the initial black figure, making it uncertain whether these incomplete assessments really belong to the variety or sub-variety to which they are attributed. In 28, 13–16, where two entries of 200 are followed by two of 500, all without comment, we can be pretty sure that they are rightly placed under this head, since the first of the four is preceded by 'land-cubit', and the high numbers forbid us to regard the entries as incomplete specimens of either I or II: the entry 32, 51 here provides a further argument. It is strange that in no less than six assessments of the treasurer Kha'emtiir, two for 200 land-cubits and four for 100 land-cubits each (86, 18. 19; 87, 18. 19; 88, 9. 10) no comment of any sort is added; the presence of *mḥ-t* in three of these entries guarantees their attribution to IIA, though another entry (91, 34) apparently assigning 50 arouras (*sōte*) to the same man would seem to indicate an imperfect entry of I. Some further imperfect instances of Variety I clearly mark their membership of that class by the insertion of the sign  $\alpha$  for 'corn-measure' (61, 1; 63, 37; 70, 11). On the other hand, three *hōnk*-entries where a figure of some magnitude remains without comment, namely 50 in 27, 44; 85, 15 and 60 in 33, 30, must probably be taken as referring to arouras, because we have no proof that any *hōnk*-entry speaks of an area of less than 5 arouras, 20 arouras being much more usual, further because presentations to the gods are unlikely to have comprised paltry strips of less than 1 aroura, and lastly because the neighbouring entries are all of Variety I or Sub-variety IA, whence these commentless entries are unlikely to refer to land-cubits. These arguments are, however, contingent upon the line we take about the *hōnk*-entries 18, 7; 82, 36 (20); 82, 33 (40); 42, 8 (80), where a comment of one of the two types  $\alpha$  or  $\delta$  is either present or implied by the 'ditto'-mark; to these I shall return shortly. In conclusion, there remain to be mentioned two assessments of individual land-holders where respectively the black figures 10 (in 90, 8) and 30 (in 60, 21) stand alone; probably they were awaiting completion in the form of I or IA, i.e. in terms of the aroura. On the other hand, in 44, 14 the number 18 is definitely marked as referring to land-cubits.

The assertion made on pp. 90 f. that the form of the assessments in the apportioning paragraphs depends upon whether they are reckoned in arouras or in land-cubits remains to be proved, and I think the demonstration can be achieved fairly satisfactorily except in the case of Sub-variety IIA, where much difficulty is experienced. In general it may be said that the units of area *št-t* 'aroura' and *mḥ-t* 'land-cubit' are mentioned only sparsely and erratically, and without definite method. It is, however, important to observe that prior to col. 96  $\alpha$ , *št-t* is never attached to any type of assessment except I—including *pōsh*-entries of Type B—and IA, and that from beginning to end of Text A  $\alpha$  *mḥ-t* is never

<sup>1</sup> 2, x+7-10d.

<sup>2</sup> 23, 18. here; see below.

<sup>3</sup> 6, x+2.

<sup>4</sup> 44, 14, preceded by *mḥ-t* and without following comment, see below.

<sup>5</sup> 33, 30 without following comment, perhaps wrongly classed here.

<sup>6</sup> 55, 42; 60, 21, both times a simple number without added comment, and not improbably belonging to Variety I above, not

<sup>7</sup> 7, 6; 8, 13; 86, 41.

<sup>8</sup> 28, 15. 16, both without comment, see below; 32, 51.



attached to any type of assessment except II and IIA. I am referring, of course, only to the lines in which these words are actually written; if the dots presumed to be equivalent to 'ditto' were interpreted quite strictly in every case, it would be easy to prove that both varieties and both sub-varieties of assessment could be calculated either in arouras or in land-cubits, but the result of such an inference would be devastating, and would destroy any hope we may have of finding any intelligible motive at all for the assessments. When, therefore, we come across a series of entries like those in § 32 (17, 20-18, 26), where all four kinds of assessment are represented, we shall overlook the fact that a 'ditto'-dot might seem to indicate that an assessment of Variety I was in terms of land-cubits (17, 36, contrast 17, 38) and an assessment of Sub-variety IIA in terms of arouras (17, 39, contrast 17, 35), and shall pin our faith rather to the conclusion emerging from the observations above printed in italics. It is *as a rule* the form of the assessment, rather than its position in regard to the last-named unit of area, which ought to guide us in respect of the unit to be understood; I have, in the last sentence, italicized the words *as a rule* to stress the fact that this generalization is conceivably not without exceptions.

The insertion of the words for aroura or land-cubit is, as I have said, very spasmodic. In col. 68, from l. 20 onwards, the second scribe, who here takes over from his colleague, indulges in a veritable orgy of insertions of  $\frac{+}{\circ}$  *št* 'aroura', and this performance he repeats in cols. 96-7. The word for land-cubit was apparently repugnant to him; that for the aroura he prefixes to assessments, not only of I (e.g. 68, 32-7; 96, 3. 31) and IA (e.g. 96, 8-13; 97, 7), but also of II (3 examples, 97, 10. 23; 98, 36) and IIA (e.g. 96, 15-18; 97, 33-4), such procedure being utterly at variance with the practice of the first scribe, who not once uses the word *št* in assessments of classes II and IIA. For my part, I place but little faith in the evidence of the second hand, the more so since in the three examples of Variety II the combinations of numbers (4+8 in 97, 10; 10+40 in 97, 23; 5+45 in 98, 36) are combinations which are found written by the first scribe in examples that insert the word *mḥ-t* 'land-cubit', see 18, 1; 38, 22; 17, 41.

Let us, therefore, agree to disregard the testimony of the second scribe. As regards his more careful colleague, however, a thoroughgoing analysis seems indispensable. It is true that he may present us with whole columns (e.g. cols. 36. 41-2) where neither unit of area is once used; on the other hand, where he does employ them some rational ground can more often than not be discerned. It is important to observe that the use of *št* is much rarer than that of *mḥ-t*; perhaps the scribe may have expected the aroura to be taken for granted in some cases where for ourselves it is by no means obviously the unit intended. The probable motives for the insertion of a unit of area may be enumerated as follows:

- a. Because the preceding assessment was, or must be presumed to have been, in terms of the other unit.
  - b. Because a line of measurement has immediately preceded and broken the sequence of assessments.
  - c. Because the entry in question consists of two lines, so that the assessment itself falls beneath a word not part of an assessment.
  - d. Because the entry stands at the top of a column.
- To these reasons for insertion we may add case
- e. Where no reason can be assigned.

We must now enumerate all the instances sufficiently well preserved to be worth quoting:

A.  $\frac{+}{\circ}$  *št* 'aroura'.

Variety I: 17, 38, a; 33, 18, b; 48, 46, c.

" " *pōsh* Type B: 24, 22, a, c; 37, 36, b, c; 38, 12, c;<sup>1</sup> 56, 3, b, c; 57, 43, b; 57, 45, b; 85, 35, b; 87, 5, a, c; 87, 41, b, c; 90, 25, c.

" " *ḥōnk*-entries: 61, 39, b, c; 82, 25, c. Total of Variety I, 15 examples.

Sub-variety IA: 49, 5, c.

" " *ḥōnk*-entries: 60, 23, c; 60, 32, c.

" " *pōsh* Type C: [95, 44, a; 95, 45, e].<sup>2</sup> Total of Sub-variety IA, 5 examples.

Prefixed to a black number without further addition: 91, 34, c.<sup>3</sup>

One sole example.

<sup>1</sup> Here the figures are omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Probably these last two lines of col. 95 emanate from the second hand.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 96.



B.  $\sqsupset$  *mh-t* 'land-cubit'.

Variety II: 6, 21, *b*; 8, 12, *b*; 8, 37, *b*; 10, 13, *b*; 14, 7, *b*; 14, 13, *b*; 14, 15, *b*; 14, 18, *e*; 16, 18, *a*; 17, 41, *a*; 17, 46, *e*; 18, 1, *d*; 23, 2, *b*; 23, 39, *b*; 24, 9, *a*; 24, 17, *a*; 28, 18, *e*; 28, 27, *a*; 29, 27, *a*; 37, 16, *a*; 38, 22, *a*; 40, 10, *b*; 40, 46, *a*; 44, 33, *a*; 52, 38, *e*; 56, 4, *a*; 56, 12, *a*; 56, 17, *a*; 56, 33, *a*; 56, 43, *a*; 56, 45, *a*; 57, 2, *a*; 57, 4, *a*; 57, 7, *a*; 57, 15, *a*; 57, 28, *b*; 66, 4, *a*; 66, 44, *a*; 67, 3, *e*; 75, 20, *b*; 75, 39, *b*; 75, 50, *a*; 76, 6, *a*; 83, 11, *a*; 83, 34, *a*; 84, 5, *a*; 86, 6, *a*; 87, 6, *a*; 88, 11, *e*; 88, 26, *a*; 88, 44, *b*; 89, 1, *d*; 91, 9, *a*. Total of Variety II, 53 examples.

Sub-variety IIA: 8, 8, *b*; 15, 37, *b*; 17, 35, *a*; 23, 10, *b*; 28, 2, *b*; 28, 23, *a*; 28, 29, *e*; 32, 44, *b*; 32, 48, *e*; 32, 51, *e*; 39, 4, *b*; 83, 12, *e*; 83, 37, *a*; 87, 1, *d*. Total of Sub-variety IIA, 14 examples.

Prefixed to a black number without further addition: 28, 13, *a*; 44, 14, *b*; 86, 18, *a*; 87, 18, *b*; 88, 9, *b*. Total, 5 examples.

A careful scrutiny of the above analysis reveals the fact that the main use to which the insertion of *mh-t* 'land-cubit' was put was to emphasize those small areas which were divided into two for fiscal purposes, though without any indication of a tax to be paid upon them. In this case (Variety II) for every four entries there is one which introduces the word *mh-t*. Strictly speaking, even here it was unnecessary, for apart from the three instances from the second hand (above, p. 97), which, as I think I have shown, possess no demonstrative value, there is every indication that wherever two black groups of figures follow one another, these are to be reckoned in land-cubits. The employment of the word for aroura is no less optional, the form of the entries already conveying the necessary information. That there has been considerable excuse, to say the least, for my regarding as reckoned in land-cubits the examples where a simple black number is followed by an abbreviated comment (Sub-variety IIA) is shown by the fact that—again apart from the evidence of the second hand—no less than fourteen examples occur where the word for land-cubit is prefixed to such an assessment, and not a single example where the word for aroura is prefixed. Indeed we need look no farther than cols. 6–8 for confirmation of this hypothesis. If a small holding could not be divided, or was not worth dividing, into the customary two parts on account of its not having been inundated, not having been seen, or for any such reason, it would naturally remain intact on the hands of its occupier. Now it is quite apparent that such a plot as that mentioned in 6, 22 as of 50 unspecified units—I here pay no attention to the dot—was on the same footing as that mentioned in 6, 21 as consisting of 10+40 (= 50) land-cubits, except that it was lying fallow. So too the fallow plots of 100 in 6, x+8. 9 were undoubtedly plots which, if productive, might have been divided into two parts of 20+80 land-cubits, like that in the preceding line. There can be no possible doubt but that the same unit of area was intended in both cases. It might easily be felt that the plentiful evidence of this kind justified us in generalizing this conclusion and maintaining that every assessment with a single black number and a comment was meant to express an area in land-cubits. Such was the opinion I long held, but recently doubts which will not be silenced have presented themselves. Why, to repeat a query already voiced, should unproductive plots have been confined to those measuring less than 1 aroura? If now we consult such paragraphs as §§ 84. 106. 123. 218—the last of these is perhaps the most suggestive—we shall find long runs of assessments in terms of arouras (Variety I) interrupted from time to time by entries of Sub-variety IIA, and we can hardly fail to ask ourselves whether these too are not to be taken in terms of arouras. Not much importance can be attached to the fact that the holdings of Sub-variety IIA measuring 2<sup>1</sup> or 3 units mostly occur in paragraphs like those just mentioned, since in modern Egypt plots of extremely small size are to be found,<sup>2</sup> so that in such a conservative land as Egypt Ramesside holdings of 2 or 3 land-cubits (54 or 82 sq. metres) are by no means excluded. On the other hand, the argument from the *hōnk*-entries set forth on p. 96 is not to be lightly dismissed.

To sum up, I think there is a distinct possibility that some of the entries of Sub-variety IIA are to

<sup>1</sup> The four examples (2, x + 7. 8. 9. 10) are all doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> Schädel, *Die Listen des großen Papyrus Harris*, 53, quotes Lozach-Hug for the fact that about 40 per cent. of the holdings were in recent times under half a feddan. See too Lyons,

*Cadastral Survey of Egypt*, 25: 'Title-deeds are and have long been made out to single sahms (7.29 square metres), though certainly the measurements on which they were based were of very moderate precision.'



be interpreted in terms of the aroura, not of the land-cubit.<sup>1</sup> The modern student is here at a disadvantage which the Pharaonic Survey will not have felt, or not in the same degree. An experienced official of that department will have known at a glance which unit was being employed.

#### h. The corresponding assessments of the *pōsh*-entries, Types A and B

Of the 127 *pōsh*-entries of Type B no less than 118 possess counterparts of Type A,<sup>2</sup> and our next business is to investigate the relationship of the figures in both. By way of preface some consideration must be devoted to the data by means of which the fact of correspondence is established. Agreement as regards the place of measure is a clue of great importance, and will be dealt with hereafter. The decisive indications, however, are the mentions of the land-owning institutions named in the *pōsh*-entries themselves; having found such a mention in an entry of either type, we search in the paragraph devoted to the land-owning institution and particular domain in question for the *pōsh*-entry of the complementary kind, and that complementary entry will nearly always contain the name of the land-owning institution heading the paragraph wherein is the entry that formed our starting-point. It is but rarely that this criterion fails us, only six exceptions presenting themselves for comment. In the Type A entry 74, 24 'this house, this domain' ought to refer to the temple last-mentioned, namely 'the House of Seth' (of Spermeru) and presumably also to a domain of it administered by the overseer of cattle P'akawty; however, no corresponding entry of Type B is found in § 166, the paragraph containing the counterparts of the neighbouring Type A entries 74, 14. 21. 27; the Type B entry 59, 18-19 that does correspond is found in § 150 devoted to estates of the Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Ptaḥ; clearly in 74, 24 the scribe wrote 'this house, this domain' in error, but how he came to do so is obscure. In 74, 3 the Type A entry ascribes to the Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Ptaḥ a plot of 10 arouras, the Type B entry (58, 13) corresponding to which falls under the head of the House of Ptaḥ, South of His Wall, § 146; here, however, there is the excuse that the foundation of Ra'messe-miamūn (§ 149) may have been actually a part of the estate of the older Memphite temple. In 53, 42 (in § 136) the domain of the temple of Medīnet Habu which had been administered by the overseer of cattle Ra'mosē is said to apportion a percentage of the assessment on 7 arouras for a temple of Ḥar-Min and Isis that may be conjectured to be that of Coptus rather than that of Ekhnīm; however, in § 157, referring to the fields of this Coptite temple, what must necessarily be the same plot (despite a difference in the statement of area and a slight discrepancy in the place of measurement) is attributed to the *khato*-lands of Pharaoh in the charge of the same functionary, see 61, 34; later on a paragraph (§ 204) is set apart for these particular *khato*-lands, but contains no allusion to the two deities above mentioned. The Type A entry 101, 9 attributes its percentage to the herbage domains of the great temple of Karnak, but the Type B entry 90, 25 has as its heading Herbage of the Ramesseum. Lastly, two Type B entries (10, 8; 56, 3) assign to *khato*-land of Pharaoh fields which the Type A entries 19, 37; 72, 23 assign to *minē*-land; the similarity of the divergence in the two cases suggests that this may be no mistake, but due to some relation between the two kinds of Royal land which we have no means of diagnosing.

Confirmatory evidence of the correspondence of two *pōsh*-entries will usually be found in the lines indicating the place of measurement. It is true that differences as regards orientation are by no means rare, see Appendix B; such differences either are sheer blunders in one of the two entries, as when 45, 10 writes 'west' where 64, 2 writes 'south-east', or else may be due to a desire for greater precision, as when 64, 40 gives 'north-west', whereas 57, 44 has only 'north'. There may also be differences in the spelling of a place-name, compare (e.g.) Gawē in 49, 43 with Gabu in 58, 19, these being the indications of place governing the corresponding pair of *pōsh*-entries 49, 45 = 58, 21.<sup>3</sup> It is most unusual for the place of measurement to present an entirely different appearance, as when the corresponding entries 79, 10 = 99, 9 refer to fields localized in the one instance 'to the south-east of Khersha'

<sup>1</sup> [The Additions and Corrections will show that the hieratic form of ||| used in this case proves that arouras were meant; a few examples, 35, 15; 36, 1. 7; 41, 48. 49; 82, 13. 32.]

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 89 f. for the nine entries of Type B which have no corresponding entries in the non-apportioning paragraphs.

<sup>3</sup> On the village here in question see further above, p. 36.



(79, 8) and in the other instance 'to the north of Harkha<sup>f</sup>' (99, 7). In such cases both indications may possibly be correct, since the position of a plot can naturally be described in its relation to more than one locality.

We have seen (pp. 67 ff., 88) that the name of the same cultivator may or may not occur in both corresponding entries, and with this brief allusion to a further possible means of confirming correspondence I pass on to the figures. The cases where the two kinds of *pōsh*-entry are not in agreement will be discussed later; at the outset it seems desirable to confine ourselves to the normal correspondences. By way of illustration we cannot do better than utilize the corresponding *pōsh*-entries discussed on pp. 57 and 58 respectively. Here the Type A entry (29, 34) gives  $\text{† III} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$  '3½ sacks', the number 3½ being 7½ per cent. of the 50 emerging from the multiplication  $\text{† III} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$  '10 (arouras, at) 5 measures of corn (per aroura), (makes) 50 measures of corn'. The corresponding Type B entry (37, 33) gives  $\cdot \text{†} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$  '10 arouras, 2½ (arouras at) 1½ measures of corn (per aroura)'. First, observe that the black figure in the Type B entry is identical with the initial red figure in the Type A assessment line; this gives the total area involved, and since in the Type B entry the word for 'aroura' sometimes precedes the opening black figure (see above, p. 97), that unit of area must necessarily be understood also with the first red figure in the non-apportioning paragraph. Secondly, we see that the Type B entry conforms to the scheme of assessment in apportioning paragraphs described above as Variety I (p. 91); there are, as already mentioned, only two Type B entries not displaying this scheme, but exhibiting its modification Sub-variety IA (p. 92), and these have no corresponding entries of Type A. Obviously, the explanation that holds of the assessments in *pōsh*-entries of Type B must hold also of the much more commonly used apportioning assessments of Variety I, and herein lies much of the importance of the observations about to be recorded.

In most assessments of Variety I the first red figure represents a quite small area,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , 2 and 3 arouras being the only areas recorded, and this first red figure bearing no fixed proportion to the black figure preceding it. In the *pōsh*-entries of Type B, on the contrary, the area indicated by the first red figure is often a much higher one, and *provided that the rate of assessment upon which the corresponding Type A percentage has been based is either 5 or 10 measures of corn (mc.) per aroura, the said red figure is invariably the exact quarter of the preceding black figure*. This proportion of one-quarter is so constant that in Appendix B, where all correspondences of *pōsh*-entries have been enumerated, I have found it necessary merely to state the number of arouras involved. To hark back to the example of a Type B entry earlier described in detail, there we find  $2\frac{1}{2}$  (arouras) written in red as the quarter of the preceding 10 (arouras); other examples showing the same relation are  $\cdot \text{† III} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$  '.7.1½' in 91, 31;  $\cdot \text{†} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$  '.20.5' in 63, 44;  $\cdot \text{†} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$  '.25.6½' in 57, 6. It is unnecessary to tabulate the various basic areas and the frequency of their occurrence, as was done in other cases, firstly because these areas are obviously comprised in the Table given on p. 72 for the non-apportioning paragraphs generally, and secondly because those who care for such a Table can easily construct one from the details given in Appendix B (pp. 119 ff.). It need only be said that the commonest areas underlying corresponding *pōsh*-entries are those of 5, 10 and 20 arouras; if a Type B assessment gives as opening black figure one so high as 110 (see 24, 22), this is because the Type A percentage is calculated on three plots combined, those plots being of 50, 30 and 30 arouras respectively (34, 7).

A further observation throws welcome light upon the *pōsh*-entries of Type B, but the fact must be stressed that it applies only when the rate of assessment underlying the percentage of the Type A entry is 5 mc. *Subject to that condition, the area named in the first red figure of the Type B entry, when multiplied by the 1½ mc. that is consistently the second red figure of the same entry, yields the figure accompanying the sign † for 'sack' in the Type A entry*. To test this in the four examples cited above, we find that in 37, 33 (Type B entry) the red figures are  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; now  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 3\frac{3}{4}$ , and the percentage in 29, 34 (Type A entry) is given as  $\text{† III} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$  '3½ sacks'; similarly the product of  $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  in 91, 31 is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  and we find  $\text{† II} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$  '2½ sacks' =  $2\frac{1}{4}$  sacks in the corresponding Type A entry 98, 20; again  $5 \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 7\frac{1}{2}$  in 63, 44, cf.  $\text{† III} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$  '7½ sacks' in 50, 7; and lastly  $6\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 9\frac{3}{4}$  in 57, 6, cf.  $\text{† III} \cdot \frac{1}{2}$  '9¾ sacks' =  $9\frac{3}{4}$  sacks in the corresponding 64, 10. If now, taking  $n$  as the basic number of arouras and substituting for  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.



its equivalent fraction  $\frac{3}{4}$ , we present the respective data of the Type A and Type B entries in the form of an equation, what we obtain is

$$5n \times \frac{3}{4} = \frac{n}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}.$$

This leads to  $n = n$ , i.e. so far as the mere figures are concerned, the equation is valid, and consequently whenever the underlying rate of assessment is 5 mc., the number of sacks in the Type A entry may always be obtained by quartering the first black figure in the Type B entry, and multiplying by  $1\frac{3}{4}$ . It is further obvious that as the result of the division by 4 the exact multiplicand can always be reached without recourse to any fractions except  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$ . Lastly, an important inference is that the  $\rho\omega$  '1½ mc.' of the Type B entries is to be taken as a rate of assessment like the second factor in the line preceding any *pōsh*-entry of Type A. Nor, of course, can this inference be restricted solely to the *pōsh*-entries of Type B, but must be extended to all assessments of Variety I and Sub-variety IA.

In the above argument the vexed question concerning the relationship of the figures accompanying the sign  $\rho\omega$  to those accompanying the sign  $\pi$  has been studiously avoided, and attention concentrated on the figures alone. It will be remembered that Černý took the three rates of assessment found in the non-apportioning paragraphs as 5,  $7\frac{3}{4}$  and 10 *oipē* respectively,<sup>1</sup> so that for him the percentage of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  sacks on 100 *oipē* is really 30 per cent., not  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; for this reason he would be unable to express the data of the corresponding entries, as they stand, in the form of an equation, the assessment in the Type B entry amounting to only one-quarter of the amount of corn named in the entry of Type A. But Černý found a most ingenious way of explaining the assessments as he viewed them, discussion of which is reserved till later. Meanwhile, I confess myself unconvinced, and believing that the figures refer to sacks throughout, whether the preceding sign is  $\pi$  or  $\rho\omega$ , I will now expound my own theory. According to this the amount of corn stated by the Type A entry as to be apportioned to another land-owning institution is really the same as that resulting from the corresponding *pōsh*-entry of Type B, only there it is expressed in a different way. It seems likely that the assessors wished to exhibit all the larger assessments of the apportioning paragraphs in the same form, and so used the first black figure to indicate the total area of the plot assessed, and the first red figure to indicate that portion of it which was to be taxed at the standard rate of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  sacks of corn per aroura. Only by formulating the assessment in this manner could they justify its inclusion in a paragraph of which the essential feature was the *pōsh* or splitting up of a holding into two unequal portions, the one chargeable and the other not.

All that has been written above applies to entries of Type B only when the rate of assessment underlying the entry of Type A is 5 mc. ('measures of corn') per aroura. We have now to examine the cases where the rate is  $7\frac{3}{4}$  or 10 mc. or a combination of one or other or both with an assessment of 5 mc. It was seen (p. 62) that the two higher rates are rare, no more than 25 examples being found of  $7\frac{3}{4}$  mc. and no more than 16 of 10 mc. Now in this paltry number of occurrences it is only a minority that are accompanied by *pōsh*-entries of Type A, so that the evidence available is necessarily small. None the less, it thence emerges clearly that *when the rate is 10 mc., the first red figure of the Type B entry is indeed still one-quarter of the preceding black one, but that this red figure, when multiplied by  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , does not yield the figure accompanying the sign for sack in the Type A entry; when the rate is  $7\frac{3}{4}$  or a combination of rates neither is the first red figure the quarter of the preceding black one, nor yet does it, when multiplied by  $1\frac{3}{4}$ , produce the figure in the Type A entry.* The correspondences on which these generalizations are based are only eight in number, since the Type A entries in 17, 6; 18, 36 afford no help, the corresponding Type B entries being missing. All the more carefully must we analyse the slender testimony that we possess.

#### I. Plots assessed at only one rate of assessment higher than 5 measures of corn (mc.).

a. 34, 40 (Type A) = 28, 12 (Type B). The line 34, 39 shows we are dealing with  $\rho\omega \rho\omega \rho\omega$  '10 arouras at 10 mc., making 100 mc.', this giving at  $7\frac{3}{4}$  per cent.<sup>2</sup>  $\pi \frac{1111}{111}$  '7½ sacks' apportioned for the funerary temple of Ramesses V, domain of Hardai (34, 40). In the paragraph devoted to the said temple (§ 59) we find the corresponding *pōsh*-entry of Type B (28, 12), where the assessment reads  $\rho\omega \frac{11}{11} \rho\omega$  '10 arouras, 2½, 1½ mc.' Here, as stated in the generalization italicized above, the first red figure is quarter of the black one preceding, but  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$  does not yield  $7\frac{3}{4}$ , but  $3\frac{3}{4}$ .

<sup>1</sup> See p. 64, above.

<sup>2</sup> Those who believe that the conventional symbol mc. in my

translations is to be taken as equivalent to the *oipē* (=  $\frac{1}{4}$  sack) must substitute 30 per cent. for  $7\frac{3}{4}$  per cent.







ⲙⲓ: '17 mc.' as is written in all the other seven cases, or whether on the contrary the latter rate is there to be emended into '3 mc.'; there appears to be no third alternative. Meanwhile, it seems not impossible to elicit the way in which the first red figure in the eight Type B entries was arrived at, and here the unique ⲙⲓ '3 mc.' provides a helpful clue. It will be found, on examination, that this first red figure always is or was intended to be one-third of the number of sacks mentioned in the corresponding Type A entry, in other words that the red figure was obtained by dividing the number of sacks by 3. The exact red figure is obtained in *a* and *b* ( $7\frac{3}{4} \div 3 = 2\frac{1}{2}$ ) and in *e* ( $18\frac{3}{4} \div 3 = 6\frac{1}{4}$ ); also in *d*, if the slightly inaccurate Type A entry of  $7\frac{3}{4}$  instead of  $7\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{16}$  be taken as the basis ( $7\frac{3}{4} \div 3 = 2\frac{1}{2}$ ). In the remaining four cases, only an approximative result emerges, but this can be easily explained if we note that the Type B entries do not define their red-figure areas more closely than to a  $\frac{1}{4}$  aroura; without recourse to a smaller fraction the areas given could not be bettered. Thus in *f* the restored percentage of  $13\frac{1}{8}$ , when divided by 3, yields  $4\frac{1}{8}$ , and by lopping off the unimportant  $\frac{1}{8}$  we obtain the exact  $4\frac{1}{4}$  found in the Type B entry. The same result emerges from *c*, whether we adopt the real percentage  $7\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{8}$  or the scribal error  $7\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{16}$ ; the latter brings us within  $\frac{1}{24}$  of the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  given in the Type B entry, whereas with the former the inaccuracy is somewhat greater, namely  $\frac{1}{8}$ .<sup>1</sup> In *h* the scribe's faulty percentage has clearly been the basis;  $62\frac{3}{4} \div 3$  gives  $20\frac{5}{8}$ , which the Type B entry, lopping off the tiny fraction  $\frac{1}{8}$ , shows as  $20\frac{1}{4}$ ; had the true percentage of  $65\frac{1}{8}$  been used, the Type B entry ought to have shown  $21\frac{1}{4}$ , again with suppression of the small fraction  $\frac{1}{8}$ . In *g* it is, curiously enough, the true percentage  $9\frac{1}{8} = 9\frac{1}{8}$  which has been the basis;  $9\frac{1}{8} \div 3 = 3\frac{1}{8}$ , but the type B entry gives 3, since the  $\frac{1}{8}$ , being a fraction smaller than  $\frac{1}{4}$ , had to be ignored.

It is only in *h* that we can say with certainty that the wrong percentage has been taken as the basis of the area expressed in the first red figure in the Type B entry, but this example is decisive, since the red figure in question cannot well have been obtained in any other manner. The evidence in the other cases except *g* is at least reconcilable with the idea that the first red figure was in each case reached by dividing by 3 the Type A percentage as given in the existing papyrus. It seems obvious that the scribe must have had rough notes, whether on papyrus or potsherd, to help him in compiling his official document, and in *g* the division had clearly been effected upon the right percentage before the wrong one was substituted for it; the Type A entry falls almost twenty columns later than that of Type B. At all events my explanation of how the Type B assessable area was obtained can barely be disputed, and this explanation agrees well with the hypothesis that the compiler of the apportioning paragraphs wished, in inserting in them any assessment of the Type A entry, there to conform it to the general style employed for holders of land who paid on their own behalf.

We may go on to ask whether similarly the first red figure in the Type B entry was not obtained by dividing by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  the Type A percentage in the far more numerous cases where the latter was based on an assessment at 5 mc. It is true that to divide by 4 the basic area (i.e. the black figure in the Type B entry agreeing with the first red figure in the Type A entry) is an easier method of achieving the same result, but for an Egyptian to divide by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  presented no difficulty. It is only by studying the wrong percentages in the papyrus that we can hope to discover which method was actually used. As Appendix C shows, only in seven or possibly eight cases has the scribe erred over his percentage, and three (or four) of these are those discussed just above, where the underlying rate of assessment was more than 5 mc. Accordingly, we have here only four wrong entries upon which to base a judgement. To my mind, these decidedly favour the view that the Type B figures were obtained by dividing the Type A percentage by  $1\frac{3}{4}$ . In 33, 3-4 the basic area is 40 arouras, which at 5 mc. gives 200 mc., as is correctly written; the scribe has, however, mistakenly read this as 100 in drawing his percentage, and consequently gives  $7\frac{2}{3}$  sacks in place of the correct 15; in the corresponding *pōsh*-entry of Type B (38, 21) he gives 20 5, of which the most natural explanation is that he has adopted as his red figure the right answer to  $7\frac{2}{3} \div 1\frac{3}{4} = 5$ , and, well knowing that this red figure ought to be the quarter of the preceding black one, has for the latter substituted 20 for 40.<sup>2</sup> The corresponding entries 93, 24 = 90, 23

<sup>1</sup>  $7\frac{3}{4} \div 3 = 2\frac{1}{2}$ ;  $7\frac{3}{4} \div 3 = 2\frac{1}{2}$ .

<sup>2</sup> The process is identical with that which gave rise to 10 instead of 17 in case *d* as described above on p. 102.



present a very different state of affairs, but at all events it seems reasonable to conclude that an error in the percentage has induced an error in the Type B entry; 93, 24 has  $2\frac{1}{4}$  sacks instead of  $7\frac{2}{3}$  reckoned on 20 arouras at 5 mc. = 100 mc.; the *pōsh*-entry of Type B likewise gives the basic 20 arouras, but it looks as though the scribe, puzzled by the percentage given, has simply reproduced it as the red area of the Type B entry, and in the process has wrongly changed 11. into 11c. The two remaining cases are indecisive, the one suggesting that the red figure in the Type B entry has been derived from division of the percentage, while the other points rather to its having resulted from the division of the black figure by 4. Here the two pieces of evidence balance one another.<sup>1</sup>

I doubt if much use can be made of the corresponding *pōsh*-entries where the percentage in the Type A entry and the quartering in that of Type B have been successfully accomplished, but where the basic number of arouras disagrees. There are seven certain cases of this,<sup>2</sup> and only in two of them can the divergent area of the entire plot be accounted for: in the non-apportioning paragraph § 219 two adjacent entries (78, 40. 43) have had their areas interchanged in the Type B entries (93, 19; 95, 41) corresponding to them; this at least shows a dependence of the Type B entries on those of Type A. The Type B entry 83, 16 = 78, 49 is a doubtful one, and has not been included in the seven enumerated in the footnote. Two purely scribal errors on the part of the official who wrote the Wilbour have led to an easily rectified disagreement in the basic areas: in 34, 32 we find 20 written instead of 25, but the multiplication  $20 \times 5 = 125$ , the percentage in the next line, and the figures 25  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in the Type B entry 31, 44 all agree in making 25 arouras the correct size of the plot; and in the Type B entry 62, 23 the red figure  $3\frac{1}{4}$  points to 15 being the right area for the preceding black figure instead of the 11 actually given, this correction being confirmed by 64, 18-19.

To sum up, the evidence appears on the whole to indicate that the *pōsh*-entries of Type B were derived from the data furnished by the corresponding entries of Type A, together with the line of assessment preceding these latter; but in a few cases errors have arisen, not from any mistakes of calculation, but from some last-minute confusion or as mere errors of copying.

#### i. Retrospect and final comments upon the apportioning paragraphs

The greater diversity of the apportioning paragraphs, as compared with the non-apportioning, is due (1) partly to the multitude and status of the interested parties, and (2) partly to the size and condition of the individual holdings. A third cause might conceivably be found in the varying mode of presentation exhibited in the separate entries, but that is less a cause of the diversity than a convention associated with it, a different form having been found for the different cases resulting from cause (1) mentioned above. It may be well to deal with this convention at the outset. Fundamentally, three elements apart from the actual assessment are implied in every entry of the apportioning paragraphs—I ignore the place of measurement, which always has a line to itself. Every entry involves a holder of the land, whether private person, deity or land-owning institution, and that holder necessarily has to be named or else, as in the formulas *ky hwy n-f*, *ky pš n-f* (p. 75), referred to by a pronoun. With private persons this element, i.e. title and name of the person, comes first in the entry. Every entry involves also a plot of land; as a rule this is merely alluded to by means of the area given in the assessment, but when the land has to be emphasized as of a particular kind (e.g. in the two entries with *ldb*, above, p. 77) or as land utilized in a particular way (cf. the entries with *hmk* 'donated land' and *šht (?) n htrl* 'field for horses', pp. 77 f., 86 f.), such land claims the beginning of the line, pushing the name of the holder into the second place. Lastly, every entry either mentions or implies the 'apportionment' (*pš*) of the plot, i.e. its division into two portions for assessment purposes, see above, pp. 56 f.; this 'apportionment' may be merely implicit in the assessment itself, but often becomes explicit, standing at (*pōsh*-entries

<sup>1</sup> The Type A entry 51, 41 has  $5\frac{1}{2}$  instead of  $5\frac{1}{4}$  on  $15 \times 5 = 75$ ; that of Type B (56, 31) appears to have  $15 \frac{3}{4}$  instead of  $15 \frac{1}{4}$ , though the fractions in the red figure here may be the result of the correction of  $\times$  into  $\leq$  or vice versa; if the red figure was obtained from the percentage by division, then  $3\frac{1}{2}$  would be natural, since in the exact answer  $3\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$  the small fraction  $\frac{1}{2}$  would be suppressed. On the other hand, this argument fails

with 51, 26 = 70, 8, where on the same lines one might have expected  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in the Type B entry; instead of this we find  $1\frac{1}{4}$  as the exact quarter of the basic area of 7 arouras.

<sup>2</sup> They are 43, 28 = 39, 14; 53, 42 = 61, 34; 74, 21 = 63, 41; 76, 37 = 85, 43; 78, 40 = 93, 19; 78, 43 = 95, 41; 95, 10 = 91, 37.



of Type C) or very near (*ky pš n-f* of the second hand) the beginning of the entry, or else in the middle of it (*pōsh*-entries of Type B). But enough has been said on this topic. That an administrative department should invent fixed conventions of expression for the documents it produces clearly makes for order and avoidance of confusion, and such conventions are very manifest throughout the Wilbour papyrus.

(1) The assessors have found it convenient to give a different appearance to the entries according to the status of the occupiers of the land. Individual small-holders are mentioned by title and name, sometimes also with indication of parentage, and if they were assisted or represented by children, brothers and sisters, employees or substitutes (see pp. 75 ff.), these are referred to by the addition of an adverbial phrase. The peculiar privileges of the 'stable-masters' in charge of horses presumably belonging to Pharaoh have won them a special kind of entry in addition to the normal one used in ordinary cases, see p. 77. In one or two entries (p. 59) persons of the highest rank are, by dint of mention in *pōsh*-entries of Type C, placed on the same level as local forms of the great gods. It is not clear how these purely provincial cults are to be distinguished from those of the 'gods of Pharaoh' whose fields are the subject of the *hōnk*-entries (pp. 86 f.). Besides individual holders of land, human and divine, are various land-owning institutions, temples, Royal lands and the like. These have indeed also paragraphs of their own, apportioning, non-apportioning, or both; but in the context here discussed we find them as in some way subject to other land-owning institutions, and consequently on much the same footing as the small-holders aforementioned. Indeed, so great has been the desire to assimilate their tenures to those of the latter, that at the beginning of the entry, for which the name '*pōsh*-entry of Type B' has been coined, some responsible cultivator or official is given as the nominal holder, his position as a mere agent being subsequently marked by the formula *m pš n lht* 'in apportionment of land cultivated for' the institution in question. That institution may have parcelled out its fields in the provinces under the supervision of various officials or under local administrations; in that case the special domain (*rmnyt*) or administrative department thus created has to be added to the name of the land-owning institution, so that an entry of this kind may mention no less than three interested parties, e.g. the institution itself and both a higher and a lower official connected with it.

Embracing in a single glance all the varieties of holding included in the apportioning paragraphs, we discover in them a common feature absent from the non-apportioning paragraphs. It appears evident that so far from the land here being cultivated solely for the benefit of the land-owning institutions named in the paragraph-headings, the private individuals, gods or land-owning institutions specified in the single entries were the main beneficiaries, and of this fact the corresponding *pōsh*-entries of Types A and B provide an almost decisive proof: in both entries the same fields are under consideration, and in those of Type A these fields are placed on exactly the same footing as the rest of the fields of the non-apportioning paragraphs, where complete ownership seems obvious. The question thus arises as to the relation of the land-owning institutions mentioned in the headings of the apportioning paragraphs to the holdings and holders enumerated in them. Even thus far forward in the present volume the moment has not yet arrived for the discussion of this vital problem, so I pass on to the second cause for the diversity apparent in the apportioning paragraphs, namely the size and condition of the individual holdings.

(2) It was seen that the assessments vary in form (*a*) according as they were calculated in arouras or in land-cubits, and (*b*) according as they were productive or not. Most of the non-productive fields appear to have been partitioned out into plots of small size, though we found (pp. 94 ff.) that some individual plots possibly amounted to several arouras in area. At all events the single number which here precedes an abbreviated reference to the present condition of the land discloses the area of the unapportioned plot, and the fact that this number is written in black doubtless indicates that the plot in question was not liable to whatever tax or rent or other payment the assessors may have had in view. Since the three other forms of assessment are not accompanied by any abbreviation intimating that the plot was dried up or lying fallow or the like, it must be taken that they all refer to fields productive in a greater or less degree. Most puzzling of all are the assessments consisting of two complementary black numbers, the smaller number standing first. At least we know that these numbers refer to



land-cubits, and that in these entries the assessors have, for their own official purposes, divided (*pš*) the area into two parts of which one, if not at present liable to any payment, might at some future date become liable in this way. The use here of nothing but black ink, and the conspicuous absence of a rate of assessment, stress the likelihood that such plots were not being called upon for any payment. But if so, what was the purpose of the apportionment? Further, it remains obscure which of the two unequal portions particularly interested the assessors: in the three-figure assessments still remaining to be characterized the entire area comes first, and the second figure gives the part of this that was chargeable at the standard rate of assessment; in the two-figure assessments the smaller number precedes the larger one, and for this no explanation is forthcoming. It is only in the three-figure assessments (Variety I) that we obtain a relatively clear notion of the assessors' purpose; the complication introduced in Sub-variety IA defeats all understanding.

The employment of red ink for the second and third numbers in the assessments of Variety I means, as in the similar employment in the non-apportioning paragraphs, that these numbers give the amounts which alone were of vital importance to the assessors. The initial black figure gives merely the total area of the plot under consideration. We may picture to ourselves the assessors measuring this plot, noting its character and present condition, and then deciding how much of it should be made liable to payment at the uniform rate of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  measures of corn. In all cases except where the holder was a land-owning institution such as also possessed fields of its very own and was consequently honoured by a separate paragraph in the assessors' report, the area chargeable is seen to be very small. The commonest assessment is one of plots of 5 arouras which paid on only  $\frac{1}{2}$  aroura, i.e. on one-tenth of their total area, see p. 91; but we find a few plots of 20 arouras which paid on only  $\frac{1}{4}$  aroura, i.e. on no more than one-eightieth of their area, and there is a single plot of 30 arouras (84, 39) which paid on only  $\frac{1}{120}$  of its area. It may be guessed that this was very poor land.

If, following Černý's conjecture—it cannot be too strongly emphasized that this was made at a distance from any copy of the original text and after an interval that may well have dimmed his recollection of its data—we read the assessments in terms of *oipě* or quarter-sacks (about 4 gallons), then some of the payments are so small as to have been hardly worth collecting; on a  $\frac{1}{4}$  aroura—this is a commonly found chargeable area—payment at the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *oipě* per aroura would be only  $\frac{3}{8}$  *oipě* i.e. a gallon and a half of corn. The payment would be less insignificant, in fact four times as much, if the unit of capacity which I have expressed by the ambiguous mc. were the *khar* or sack, as I believe on other grounds.<sup>1</sup>

It is only when the real occupier of the land (as opposed to the nominal holder mentioned at the beginning of the *pōsh*-entries of Type B) was one of the important land-owning institutions, a temple or the like, that the chargeable area is found uniformly fixed at a quarter of the total area. This happens only when, in the assessment recorded by the non-apportioning paragraph immediately before the corresponding *pōsh*-entry of Type A, the rate of assessment is given as 5 mc. Where the rate is higher for the whole or for part of the holding, the chargeable area is often less than one-quarter of the entire area, though still greater than that found in connexion with the fields belonging to individual small-holders. At the present moment we are concerned, not with the way in which the chargeable area was ascertained, but only with its size in relation to that of the entire plot. It looks as though the size of the chargeable area was made greater in the case of a land-owning institution because this was richer and better able to bear the burden of a higher payment.

The problem still remains open whether any given payment envisaged by a *pōsh*-entry of Type B is the same payment as that envisaged by the corresponding *pōsh*-entry of Type A, only transferred to another account by a book-keeping operation. This is the hypothesis I myself favour, but it is possible only if the corn-measure used in both entries was the sack, though the sign preceding the number referring to the corn is  $\text{†}$  'sack' in the Type A entry and  $\text{⌘}$  *oipě* in that of Type B. As may be seen from the discussion on pp. 62 ff. above, I pin my faith mainly upon the fact that dots are elsewhere never used for quarters of a corn-measure unless that corn-measure is the 'sack', so that

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 62 ff.



𐎔𐎃 can only be  $1\frac{3}{4}$  sacks in spite of its substitution of 𐎔𐎃 for 𐎔. The alternative hypothesis suggested by Černý and alluded to on p. 101 above rests upon some assumptions or information provided by myself which can now, I think, be shown to be erroneous; nevertheless it incorporates a view which might make it possible to retain the theory that the figures accompanying 𐎔𐎃 always refer to *oipē*. On this view the figure of so-and-so many sacks in the *pōsh*-entries of Type A includes, not only a payment at the rate of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  *oipē* on one-quarter of the plot, but also a payment at the same rate by the land-owning institution in the heading of the apportioning paragraph on the remaining three-quarters of the area. Černý thinks of the plot as liable to a tax of 5 *oipē* per aroura payable to the Crown, but leased to the land-owning institution of the apportioning paragraphs. Of the land so leased the cultivator himself took a quarter of the harvest and consequently paid tax on that amount; three-quarters of the harvest went to the lessee institution, which paid the tax thereon; the rest of the tax had to be paid by the lessor institution. To apply this to the concrete example discussed on pp. 57 f., an area of 10 arouras belonging to the temple of Medīnet Habu is assessed at the rate of 5 *oipē* per aroura, the tax payable being accordingly 50 *oipē* or  $12\frac{3}{4}$  sacks. But of that tax  $3\frac{3}{4}$  sacks or 15 *oipē* had to be paid by the temple of Osiris of Abydos, which had rented the plot from the other temple; the *pōsh*-entry of Type B shows how the tax of 15 *oipē* is apportioned between the Abydos temple and the actual cultivator Benenka; Benenka paid on one-quarter of the area, i.e.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  arouras, at the rate of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  *oipē*, making an amount of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  *oipē* =  $\frac{15}{8}$  sack; the temple of Osiris paid on three-quarters of the same area at the same rate, its contribution being therefore  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$  *oipē*, i.e.  $11\frac{1}{4}$  *oipē* or  $2\frac{1}{8}$  sacks: the lessor temple of Medīnet Habu had to pay the balance of the assessment, i.e.  $50 - (3\frac{3}{4} + 11\frac{1}{4})$  *oipē*, i.e. 35 *oipē* or  $8\frac{3}{4}$  sacks. In other words, the tax was paid in the following proportions: lessor temple, 70 per cent.; lessee temple,  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; cultivator,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

Highly ingenious as is this hypothesis, I cannot make it fit in with any probable picture of realities. We should be handicapped in any case by not knowing the terms of the lease by the one temple to the other, and by that other temple to the actual cultivator. At this point I shall content myself with three objections, but believe that any one of them would be fatal by itself. In the first place is it plausible that the actual cultivator and the lessee temple should share the entire harvest between them, and yet that the lessor temple should pay more than double the tax paid by the two real beneficiaries? In the second place, the way in which the Type B entry is formulated shows that the cultivator in this case was merely the agent and servant of the supposed lessor temple; as such surely he would not have had to pay any tax at all. Lastly, I can find no evidence for any part of the assessment having been imposed on the land-owning institution of the apportioning paragraph. Had such a part been imposed, would not the Type B entry have taken the form 𐎔𐎃. 𐎔𐎃.  $1\frac{3}{4}$  *oipē*, the area being represented in this formula by *n*? And would not all three figures have been written in red?

Whether any modification of Černý's theory can be devised so as to suit all the facts of the case must be left for others to decide; without his theory it seems impossible to see how the figures with 𐎔𐎃 can be interpreted in terms of the *oipē*. Meanwhile, my own hypothesis, so satisfactory when the rate of assessment in the non-apportioning paragraphs is 5 mc., i.e. on my view 5 sacks, meets with an awkward obstacle when the rate is higher than that figure. It is postulated by me that the amount of corn found in the *pōsh*-entry of Type A is the same as that resulting from the multiplication by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  mc. of the first red figure in the Type B entry; in fact that the two corresponding entries yield the same amount, only are expressed in different form. However, it has been shown that when the rate of assessment is above 5 mc. the first red figure is obtained by dividing the Type A percentage by 3, see above, pp. 102 ff.; consequently in order to obtain in the Type B entry the same amount of corn as in the corresponding entry of Type A the second red figure would have to be III, not I: . The figure III does, in fact, occur in this way in case *g* (p. 102), but my hypothesis seems to demand that it should be substituted for I: in all the other cases *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, and *h*, and even then, on account of the neglect of the tiny fraction in the first red number of some of these cases, multiplication by 3 will not yield quite the exact amount of the Type A entry. What is worse, if 𐎔𐎃 III be emended in all these seven examples, the formulation of the Type B entry is no longer on the same footing as all the other examples







identical in both reading and meaning with the same abbreviation, written by another hand, presumably for  $\text{𐎧𐎧𐎧𐎧}$  by 'taken', that is found in the margin beside many lines of measurement;<sup>1</sup> its omission in the three cases mentioned above shows that it cannot have been very vital to the sense.

Comprehension of this form of assessment might be greatly facilitated if we could be sure of the meaning of the word  $\text{𐎧𐎧𐎧𐎧}$ , *mimi* near the end of it. A special note is devoted to this word in Appendix A, below, pp. 113 ff. Despite some evidence to the contrary there is a strong likelihood that it means no more than seed of emmer for sowing. Use will be made of this hypothesis immediately.

To return now to *a* as transcribed and translated above, the relations between the numbers are obvious:  $\frac{1}{3} \times 10$  subtracted from 10 gives  $6\frac{2}{3}$ ;  $50 \times 6\frac{2}{3} = 333\frac{1}{3}$ , the substitution of  $\frac{2}{3}$  for  $\frac{1}{3}$  in the text being an error corrected in *c* below;  $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$  sacks amounts to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *oipē*, which is very nearly  $3\frac{3}{8} = 3\frac{1}{2}$  *oipē*, i.e. 1 *oipē* to 100 of whatever unit may have to be understood with the number  $333\frac{1}{3}$ . Since the sign  $\omega$  has not been introduced, it seems impossible to take the multiplier  $6\frac{2}{3}$  as a rate of assessment in corn, and the only course justifiable is to regard the  $333\frac{1}{3}$  as an amount of land-cubits. The upshot of the entire formula would thus be that 1 *oipē* of *mimi* was assigned to 100 land-cubits or 1 aroua, and here we are irresistibly reminded of the fact that in Graeco-Roman times 1 artaba of seed was the normal allowance reckoned for 1 aroua of land.<sup>2</sup> Since, moreover, my philological note shows a clear connexion between *mimi* and seed for sowing, it is apparent that we are here upon the right track. Why, however, the original starting-point of 50 land-cubits should have been multiplied by  $6\frac{2}{3}$ , and what considerations underlay the subtraction from 10 of a third thereof to form that multiplier, is a mystery I must leave to others to unravel.

It now remains only to translate the remaining examples in order to assure ourselves that the figures there were calculated upon the same basis.

*b.* A 43, 4. 'Land-cubits, 300.  $\frac{1}{3}.6\frac{2}{3}$  makes (taken) 2,000, *mimi*, sacks 5.'

This is correct, since  $300 \times 6\frac{2}{3} = 2,000$  and 5 sacks = 20 *oipē*, i.e. 1 *oipē* to 100 of the unit presupposed in the 2,000.

*c.* A 43, 8. 'Land-cubits, 50, makes (taken)  $333\frac{1}{3}$ , *mimi*, sacks  $\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$ .'

Identical with *a* except that  $\frac{1}{3}.6\frac{2}{3}$  is omitted, the abbreviation for '(taken)' added, and the correct  $333\frac{1}{3}$  substituted for  $333\frac{1}{3}$ .

*d.* A 43, 11. 'Land-cubits, 100.  $\frac{1}{3}.6\frac{2}{3}$ , makes (taken)  $6[66]\frac{2}{3}$ , *mimi*, sacks  $1\frac{2}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$ .'

Again correct. The essential figures are double those in *a* and *c* throughout.

*e.* 101, 22 } 'Land-cubits, 100.  $\frac{1}{3}.6\frac{2}{3}$  makes  $666\frac{2}{3}$ , *mimi*, sacks  $1\frac{2}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$ .'

*f.* 101, 24 }

Both examples are identical with one another, and save for their omission of '(taken)' identical also with *d*.

*g.* 102, 4. 'Land-cubits 100 + . . . *mimi*, sacks  $4\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$ .'

Since  $4\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$  sacks =  $16\frac{3}{4}$  *oipē*, the number to follow 'makes' must have been  $1666\frac{2}{3}$ , the exact  $16\frac{3}{4} \times 100 (= 1675)$  not dividing by  $6\frac{2}{3}$ . Assuming  $1666\frac{2}{3}$ , the basic number of land-cubits is 250. The calculation is not far from correct.

*h.* A 102, 7. 'Land-cubits 100 + . . . makes 1,000, *mimi*, sacks . . .'

The basic number of land-cubits will have been 150 and at the end must have stood  $\text{𐎧𐎧𐎧𐎧}$  [11:] '2 $\frac{1}{4}$  sacks', i.e. 10 *oipē*.

For the possibility that in a conjectural col. 103 there was one more Harem assessment identical with *h*, see Pl. 73 (A), the note following col. 102.

In conclusion, let it be noted that though the above figures have been termed assessments, they are all written entirely in black, and presumably, therefore, involved no payment to be made.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 71, with n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 125.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 106, at top.



## APPENDIX A

### SPECIAL PHILOLOGICAL NOTES

#### 1. $\overline{\text{rmnyt}}$ 'domain'

So rare was this word until deciphered by me in the Wilbour papyrus that the Berlin Dictionary (II, 420, 16; 421, 1. 2) could quote but four examples, out of which it made three separate words. In Text A of the Wilbour the constantly recurring group of which *rmnyt* ultimately proved to be the reading is extremely cursively written, and it was only the somewhat more carefully formed initial sign in 75, 8 which betrayed itself as  $\overline{\text{rm}}$  and thus identified the group  $\overline{\text{rmnyt}}$  (sometimes with  $\overline{\text{rm}}$ , with  $\overline{\text{rm}}$  and the like) as the equivalent of  $\overline{\text{rmnyt}}$  in *Sall. I*, 9, 7, where we find a list of Royal fields concluded by the words 'minē-lands of Pharaoh, *khato*-lands of Pharaoh, harvest-tax lands (*šmw*) of Pharaoh, and domain-lands (*rmnyt*) of Pharaoh'; the entire passage has been translated above, p. 78. To Egyptology no proverb is more applicable than that 'it never rains but it pours', and of late numerous examples have come to light, above all in the Amiens papyrus,<sup>1</sup> where the hieratic writing is even less intelligible than in the Wilbour, and in some fragments purchased in Luxor by the late Prof. Griffith and described by me in *JEA*, xxvi, 64 ff.;<sup>2</sup> the last-named are particularly valuable, inasmuch as they exhibit the word in clear uncial signs and use it in a way closely analogous to that of the Wilbour papyrus.

The earliest examples of the word which I have found are in various masons' graffiti on stones belonging to two kings of the Second Intermediate Period, King Khendjer and another. Here (Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire*, p. 10, fig. 8, No. 1; p. 11, fig. 9, Nos. 1-3; fig. 10, No. 1; p. 12, fig. 11, No. 4; p. 62, fig. 46, five examples) the date is immediately followed by  $\overline{\text{rmnyt}}$  and the title and name of some official, usually a  $\overline{\text{rmnyt}}$  'overseer of the Inner Apartment'; once  $\overline{\text{rm}}$  'by' precedes *rmnyt*, the determinative of which might conceivably be  $\overline{\text{rm}}$  instead of  $\overline{\text{rm}}$ . One is tempted to render 'Department (or 'by the department') of the overseer, &c.'; and this may here indeed be the true meaning of *rmnyt*, though in our papyrus, as we shall see, a rather different signification has to be accepted.

The next oldest occurrences, pointed out by Černý, are on fragments of wine-jars from El-'Amārnah; they are only three in number, the clearest of them being that published by Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, Pl. 22, No. 27, which reads  $\overline{\text{rmnyt}}$  'Year 9, wine of the House of Aton, domain of the controller Hōri'. In spite of the vagueness of the determinative, the presence of *rmnyt* is barely disputable, the more so since here, as elsewhere, it serves a restrictive purpose; the wine in question came not merely from vineyards of the House of Aton, but from those particular vineyards which were under the supervision of the controller Hōri.

Similar is the use of the word again and again in the Wilbour papyrus, except that there not vineyards, but arable lands are in question. One and the same temple may have many *rmnyt*, each defined merely by the name of the official responsible for its administration, and it is clear that the fields in question were by no means necessarily contiguous. As sub-heading, or as virtual sub-heading,<sup>3</sup> of paragraphs,  $\overline{\text{rmnyt}}$  'of this house' regularly follows as genitive, and then the name and the title of the controlling official are introduced either by  $\overline{\text{rm}}$  'under the authority of' (e.g. §§ 18. 38. 122. 149) or by  $\overline{\text{rm}}$  'by the hand of' (e.g. §§ 39. 77. 79), the latter compound preposition being used for the lower of the two functionaries, i.e. the one who was more directly responsible for the management of the lands in question. That *rmnyt* was an elastic term is shown by cases where *rmnyt pr pn m-drt* . . . follows as sub-sub-heading immediately upon *rmnyt pr pn (r)-ht* . . ., e.g. in §§ 58. 208; as virtual sub-sub-heading, § 223. In such cases, however, there is sometimes a doubt whether the word in the sub-heading is not a plural, so that the sub-heading would be designed to cover more than one paragraph, the sub-sub-heading mentioning only that one of the domains in question which is dealt with in that particular paragraph, and another of those domains being particularized by the virtual sub-sub-heading of the next paragraph. An example of this possibility is seen in §§ 64-5; in the sub-heading of § 64 the word is written almost exactly as in the sub-sub-heading, and has accordingly all the appearance of a singular; in § 66, however, where a very similar state of affairs is in view (see too § 67), the first word of the (virtual) sub-heading is written as a plural, with that peculiar indication of the plural on which comment is made in the textual note on 21, 33; other certain examples of the plural are in 25, 11; 49, 17. 27. 41, while good and certain cases where singular and plural are not differentiated are 76, 15. 40 as compared with 25, 11.

The word *rmnyt* can have but little meaning or utility except where the fields of a land-owning institution, on account


<sup>1</sup> See my *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, 1-13, *passim*, and particularly note *b* on rt. 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> To be published more fully, *op. cit.* 68-71.

<sup>3</sup> For this term see p. 19.



[illegible]

There can be no doubt that *rmnyl* is connected with 'upper arm' or with the corresponding verb *rmn* 'to support', but no means exists of ascertaining the exact metaphor involved.<sup>2</sup> In *P. Westcar* 5, 17  designates one 'side' of the women-rowers in a boat, and so exhibits the kindred notion of a particular section of a cooperative team.

The transcription adopted for this word in 17, 11 and thirty-six other examples in Text A, besides a few in Text B, has been taken from the almost contemporary tomb of Pennē at Anībah; see Steindorff, *Aniba*, II, Pl. 101, ll. 1. 2. 5. 8. 13<sup>3</sup>. The context there is remarkably similar to that in the Wilbour papyrus, even to the point of constituting a substantival group used independently as a sort of heading; the tomb inscription has in line 1 'Land donated to (lit. "donated land of") the statue of Amenḥikshopshef-Ra'messe-netjer-Ḥek-Ōn which rests in Anībah'. The Berlin Dictionary appears to ignore this word, perhaps simply through doubt as to its reading, though it might plausibly have found a place beside another problematic word meaning a kind of cloth and read by Wb. III, 213, 24 as ḥdwj. The very appearance of the word at Anībah suggests the influence of hieratic, the upper sign resembling either ꜥ or ꜣ, these two being assimilated in that script, while the lower sign or lower part of the monogram is closer to the hieratic sign for Ꜣ than to that for any other hieroglyph. So far does the latter correspondence go in the Wilbour, that the sign for Ꜣ shows in its lower part the same strange depression of the right-hand vertical stroke which is found for Ꜣ in A 11, 24; 76, 4. 6; there can be little doubt, therefore, that

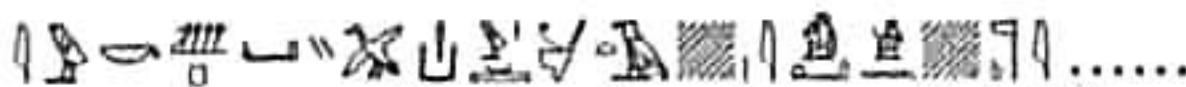
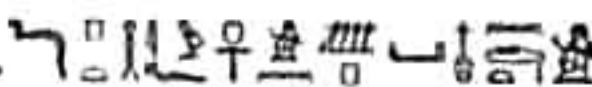
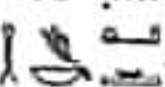
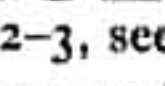
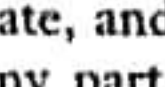

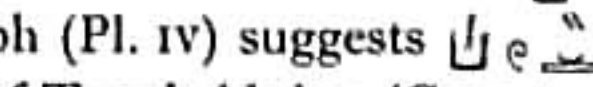
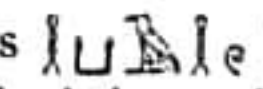
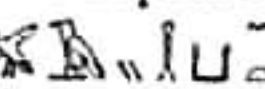

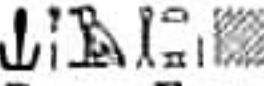


<sup>3</sup> In the quotation I have used my own hand-copy of the original.

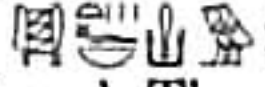
<sup>2</sup> A guess has been hazarded on p. 19.







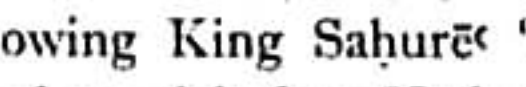


interest puts the question to Ptah:  .....  'Wilt thou accept with a good acceptance from me this donation of . . . which I have presented to (?) . . . (or "in the name of" or the like?) the god's father . . . Djeptaheftōnkh?' Despite the difficulties caused by lacunae and possible misspellings we can at least see that the noun recalling *hm-k* is here used in conjunction with the verb *hmk* 'to present', which had occurred also earlier (l. 2) in the same inscription. The verb *hmk*, variously written as , , or , is common on the donation stelae; besides the examples quoted by Drioton, *Ann. Serv.*, xxxix, 122-3, see (e.g.) *ZAS*, xxxiv, 84; lvi, 59; Loat, *Gurob*, Pl. 19. It is true, however, that all these examples of *hmk* are late, and therefore the hypothesis of a denominative verb from *hm-k* cannot be regarded as an impossibility. For my part, I am swayed in favour of *hmk* as the real etymology of the writings with *hm-k* mainly by the implicit construction with personal object + *m* of thing presented in the Eighteenth Dynasty stela from Edfu quoted above. Even in the Libyan and Ethiopian times, however, the association with  had not faded from memory. In the stela of the Libyan period *ZAS*, lvi, 57, the photograph (Pl. iv) suggests  'presentation of fields' as the true reading, while the Athens stela, of the reign of Tnephakhthos (Capart, *Recueil de monuments* [II], Pl. 92; *Rec. trav.*, xxv, 191-2), employs  in l. 3 and  'this presentation to Neith' later in the imprecation (l. 10). Nor indeed had the spelling with a hieratic sign like that for  entirely disappeared; the photograph accompanying Spiegelberg's publication of a Cairo donation stela of the 32nd year of Shoshenq II (*Rec. trav.*, xxv, 196) clearly shows , only the stroke after *hmk* (*hm-k*) being doubtful. Also from copies by Černý of Berlin 8439 (= Revillout, *Revue Egyptologique*, II, 43, Year 32 of Amasis) and Berlin 14998 (= Maspero, *Rec. trav.*, xv, 86, Year 1 of Amasis) I am inclined to think that the sculptor intended  'He presented' and  'presentation' respectively.

Only in one late example do we find a use at all analogous to that on the Karnak stela of the Intermediate period quoted on p. 112. This is on the stela of Shoshenq recently edited anew by Blackman in *JEA*, xxvii, 83 ff. The passage (l. 4) reads: 'Any men who shall take away from its sacred property, from its land, its people, its cattle, its gardens,  any of its oblations, or any of its endowments, thou shalt exert thy great and mighty power against them.' The rendering 'endowments' is due to Blackman, and at this period seems more suitable than 'soul-services' proposed by me for the earlier instance.

Lastly, Gunn has pointed out that the Kōm el-Hiṣn copy of the Decree of Canopus uses a demotic sign closely similar to that used in the hieratic passages above quoted; in l. 19  corresponds to the verb *hmk* of the hieroglyphic text.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. *mimi* 'seed-corn of emmer(?)' and the phrase *ts prt* 'appointment of seed', 'sowing order'

Apart from the treatment in the Berlin Dictionary (II, 58, 7-12) the first word named in the title above has been discussed at some length by Brugsch (*ZAS*, xxix, 25 ff.) and by Dawson (*JEA*, xxi, 37-8); also in shorter notes by Sethe (*Grabdenkmal d. Königs Saḥu-rer*, II, 114) and by Keimer (*Gartenpflanzen*, 149). Brugsch, inspired by the fact that this fruit or grain is of frequent occurrence in the medical papyri for the treatment of the most various complaints, as well as by a statement in Pliny's *Natural History* (xx, 58)<sup>3</sup> that *est cumino simillimum quod Graeci vocant ammi, quidam vero Aethiopicum cuminum id esse existimant*, identifies our word with *cumin*, and finds further evidence in the Famine stela at Siḥēl for equating it with the Ethiopic variety of that herb. In this Dawson follows him, quoting other references to *ἄμμι* from Dioscorides and Oribasius, and giving an admirable list of the external and internal uses of the supposed Egyptian equivalent; Dawson mentions also an Old Kingdom picture of merchandise figuring among other things two sacks of ; and besides other valuable information speaks of the Greek expression *ἄμμι κοπτικόν* and gives a reference for *κύμινον αἰθιοπικόν* in the Paris magical papyrus. Keimer states merely that the identification of *mimi* with *ἄμμι* (*ἄμμι*) is wrong, and gives references for the Greek word. Sethe is concerned only with a scene showing King Saḥurē 'bringing *mimi* (or *mm*) to Bast' () and cites the same rite as being performed before Hathōr at Dēr el-Baḥri and before Mut at Luxor. He mentions that in the funerary temple of Saḥurē the grain determinative is painted a reddish-brown, and that of the nature of this fruit or cereal nothing is known except that it was often ground up. The Berlin Dictionary attempts no further explanation.

Our first step in criticism must be to reject the comparison with *ἄμμι*, *ἄμμι*. As Sethe has pointed out,<sup>4</sup> most old words showing only two consonants and those identical appear to be reduplications, and at least in some cases they are likely to be quadriliterals, the second and fourth radicals being weak consonants such as are frequently left unwritten. After the

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Serv.*, xv, 141. This clearly is the passage from which has been taken the word *hm-kw* 'Stiftung' entered in *Wb.* III, 90, 20.

<sup>2</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Der demotische Text der Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana)*, p. 163, No. 244.


<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to W. R. Dawson for pointing out that Brugsch is wrong in giving this reference as XIX, 58 and for writing *ami* in the Latin text instead of *ammi*.







<sup>4</sup> Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, p. 132, n. 1, overlooked by the Berlin Dictionary. <sup>5</sup> *Das ägyptische Verbum*, I, 329.





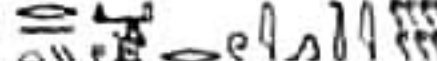
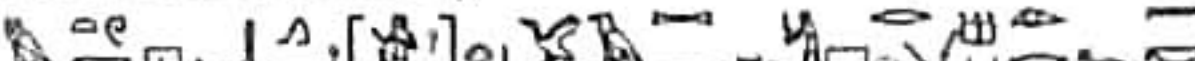


coincidence that the same goddesses as are thus found at Abušīr, at Dēr el-Baḥrī and at Luxor (though other deities occur as well, e.g. Rē, Phīops) occur in a number of feminine personal names, mostly of late date, of which —  *Ts-Bstt-prt* 'Bast appoints the seed' illustrates the type. Now the phrase *ts prt* is a rare, though important, technical term. The principal passage for it is *P. Bologna 1086*, 20-8,<sup>1</sup> which in spite of all difficulties admits of some definite conclusions:

'Do not worry about the seed-order (lit. 'the appointment of seed'  ). I have examined it, and have found that 3 men and 1 youth, total 4, make 700 sacks. I have spoken with the chiefs of the record-keepers of the Granary, and said to them "Take the three cultivators of the God to serve ( r wtw, lit. 'to (be) soldiers') this year" and they said "We will do so, we will do so. We will listen to your appeal". So they said to me. And now I am staying in their presence until they have caused the registration writings to go forth to the fields and you know all that I shall cause them to do for you. For a man makes 200 (sacks) is what they decided for me should be done, resulting (?) for you in () 2 men and 1 youth, making 500. Now as to this Syrian cultivator who was given to you, he was given to you in the months of summer, and his summer will be marked as a loss (?) against you ( ) as long as he lives.'

In spite of two or three doubtful sentences, it is less the translation of this passage than our ignorance of the underlying facts that makes interpretation uncertain. The extract comes from a letter addressed by a scribe to one Raṁmošē, who was a prophet of the temple of Thoth Pleased of Heart in Memphis—a temple, be it noted, which is named, not only in a Turin papyrus, but also in Text B of our own document (B7, 9). An earlier part of this letter had explained that a certain Syrian slave who had been allotted to this temple had gone astray, all officers and officials concerned, including the Vizier, denying knowledge of what had happened to him. The last sentence of the extract alludes to this loss, and indeed it governs the whole substance of the paragraph. I agree with Wolf, the latest editor, that the abduction of this Syrian slave was the cause of the prophet's worry with regard to the assessment to be laid upon him, the more so since the scribe acting on his behalf at the Capital had requested the authorities to take three grown-up cultivators for military service this year. Wolf has not realized that *wrw* here is the ordinary word for 'soldier' and has conjectured from the context the sense 'to perform the *corvée*' (*Fronddienst machen*).

Text B of our papyrus appears to throw light on the situation. Thence we learn that *khato*-lands of Pharaoh existed 'on' (ⲉⲓ) the fields of different temples. It seems possible that, unless a war was in progress, temple subordinates called up for military service might nevertheless remain on the temple lands and cultivate that part of them which was claimed as *khato*-land by the King. Such a view seems required in order to bring sense into the Bologna letter, and indeed a very figuratively expressed effusion translated by me elsewhere<sup>2</sup> appears to allude to this employment of soldiers in provincial agricultural pursuits when not on active service. Be this as it may, it emerges clearly from the passage that the *ἰς πρὶ* 'the appointment of seed' was an assessment fixed before the agricultural season began, the prophet, or whoever the functionary might be, receiving a Government order to produce so-and-so many sacks of corn, and perhaps also receiving seed-corn for that purpose. On inquiry I am informed that the figures mentioned in the Bologna letter are well within the range of possibility. If an aroura of land might produce 9 or 8 sacks of corn per annum (see above, p. 71), for an adult field-labourer to obtain a yield of 200 sacks per annum would mean that he had to cope with from 22 to 25 arouras, i.e. from 15 to 17 feddāns or acres.

The prophet or other functionary in charge of *khato*-land of Pharaoh will have needed to know, before the sowing started, what number of sacks of corn would be available to cover all contributions due to the Crown at harvest-time. This assessment in terms of sacks of corn is evidently what was understood by the expression *ts prt* 'the appointment of seed', an expression which closely resembles the *διαγραφή σπόρου* of Ptolemaic times.<sup>3</sup> In Text B of the Wilbour papyrus the number of sacks sometimes appended to the paragraph-headings (see below, p. 182) seems likely to have been the amount of the *ts prt* imposed on the functionaries there mentioned. Here in our Bologna letter, the prophet appears to hope, or his representative hopes for him, that on account of the disappearance of the Syrian slave his expected assessment of 700 sacks, the produce of 3 men and a youth, will be reduced to 500 sacks, the produce of 1 man less. Confirmation of this interpretation is afforded by an extremely fragmentary letter written to a mayor of the West of Thebes at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Here I found the sentences  'I have caused to be cancelled 700 sacks of corn of your sowing-order (lit. 'appointment of seed') of [this year?]' and again  'and you shall write to me (?) about the sowing order which he has made for you . . .'. So again in the passage

<sup>1</sup> Wolf has given a convenient transcription and commentary *ZAS*, LXV, 89 ff., though I cannot agree with his renderings at all points.

<sup>2</sup> *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (Chester Beatty Gift)*, Text, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> See U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, 1, 110, 42

(p. 490), where the definition of the term seems rather different from that of C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, p. 117. Both agree, however, in recognizing in the expression the term or an official rescript issued before the time of sowing.

\* *P. Berlin* Inv. 3040A, see *JEA*, XXIV, 124.











the temple of Ramesses IV, but henceforth, for some reason, was to be paid from the income of the temple of the reigning Pharaoh Ramesses V. Such seems the most likely construction to put upon this exceptional and cryptic paragraph-heading.

Hitherto the determinative  $\Delta$  in *sdf* has been ignored. The Harris papyrus has (36, b, 6) a perhaps unique reference to a word  $\overline{\text{sd}}\Delta$  designating something that served as a measure for figs, but there is no reason for thinking, as suggested in Piehl's index, that the word meant a pyramid or something of that shape. It seems possible that  $\Delta$  in *sdf* 'foundation'—it is not found in the earlier examples—was taken over either from  $\overline{\text{ss}}\Delta$  *sspd* 'supply' or from  $\Delta$  *dtw* 'grant' or 'payment' in corn, 'rations', or through a vague recollection of both. The supposition that *sspd* was the origin is not so hazardous as might be imagined; how far-fetched transference of phonetic determinatives could be in Late Egyptian is well shown by  $\Delta$  in words reading *id*, *idn*, *idg*, *sg*, *sgr* and so forth. But the word  $\overline{\text{sr}}\Delta$  'thorn' (*Wb.* IV, 190) presents another possible origin; here too *s* is the initial letter, and the next letter is one which in hieratic might easily be confounded with  $\Delta$ .

<sup>1</sup> I pointed out in my *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, p. 16\*, n. 7 that hieroglyphic examples of this word use  $\Delta$ , and that the probable reading is therefore *dl*. In spite of this, *Wb.* IV, 112,

2-5 still persists in reading *spd* without even a question-mark, though there is not a tittle of evidence in favour of that reading.



## APPENDIX B

### CORRESPONDENCE OF *PŌSH*-ENTRIES

FOR the sake of simplicity the references are here always only to the line in which the actual assessment stands, though the beginning of a *pōsh*-entry in the case of Type B often stands in the preceding line, and though the number of arouras involved is always to be sought, in the case of Type A, in the line immediately preceding the *pōsh*-entry.

It not seldom happens that there are discrepancies between corresponding *pōsh*-entries, and if these are at all serious it seems desirable to note them, though less in those indications of place where one reference is merely more circumstantial than the other. Consequently *m* is appended to the first reference, if the discrepancy lies in the place of measurement, *o* being used if the difference resides only in the point of the compass. If the discrepancy lies in the number of arouras involved, *n* is added to the first reference. Lastly, if it is the land-owning institutions that disagree in the corresponding entries, the letter *l* is added; the disagreements in question are discussed in detail above, pp. 99 f.

A special column gives the number of arouras in question, and if there is a discrepancy here, a second number is added in brackets, this number being that shown by the type of entry given in the second place. When the rate of assessment in the non-apportioning paragraph is other than 5 mc. ('measures of corn') the symbol \* is added to represent 7½ mc. and † to represent 10 mc.

List I gives the *pōsh*-entries of Type A in the order of their occurrence, and List II the entries of Type B in the order of theirs.

#### I

Type A	Type B	Arouras	Type A	Type B	Arouras
SECTION I:			20, 33	2, x+6	10
1, x+3	—	[10]	20, 40 <i>o</i>	6, 19	20
5, x+2	—	[20]	20, 43	6, 13	30
9, 21	—	60	20, 46	6, 15	10
11, 49	—	5	21, 3	6, 17	[20]
12, 3	6, 10	20	21, 7	—	20
12, 26	—	[67]	21, 11	—	40
13, 27	—	5	21, 15	—	40
15, 42	—	20			
16, 37	—	15	SECTION II:		
16, 41	—	8	25, 26	38, 39	5
16, 44	—	12	29, 7	24, 16	20*+20 (= 40)
17, 6	—	20†+0 <sup>1</sup>	29, 10	24, 36	5
18, 36	—	5†	29, 16	24, 8	7
19, 9	2, x+15	10	29, 34	37, 33	10
19, 18	—	[10]	30, 1	—	15
19, 21	—	20	30, 4	28, 22	25
19, 24	—	10	30, 9	28, 26	10
19, 27	16, 32	10	30, 13	37, 36	5
19, 30	—	20	33, 4 <i>n</i>	38, 21	40 (20)
19, 34	—	15	33, 11 <i>n</i>	31, 8 <i>hmk</i>	20 (60 — 5)
19, 37 <i>l</i>	10, 8 <i>khato</i>	20	33, 15 <i>n</i> ?	30, 25 <i>hmk</i>	20 (20 — 5)
19, 41	16, 17	40	34, 7	24, 22	50†+30*+30 (= 110)
19, 45	2, x+13	20	34, 14	26, 7	5
20, 4	—	10	34, 17	26, 9	3
20, 8	—	3	34, 20	26, 5	60
20, 11	—	5	34, 24	24, 30 <sup>2</sup>	10†
20, 15	—	2	34, 27	40, 45	12
20, 23	2, x+14	25	34, 32	31, 44	20 <sup>3</sup> (25)
20, 30	—	10	34, 35	31, 47	30

<sup>1</sup> The + 0 here refers to a line where the numbers have been left out.

<sup>2</sup> Largely destroyed.

<sup>3</sup> A mistake for 25, as the multiplication and percentage show.



APPENDIX B.—CORRESPONDENCE OF *PŌSH*-ENTRIES

Type A	Type B	Arouras	Type A	Type B	Arouras
SECTION II —cont.			74, 21 <i>n</i>	63, 41	5 (10)
34, 40	28, 12	10†	74, 24 <i>l</i> <sup>2</sup>	59, 19	10
34, 43	—	30	74, 27	63, 38	20 (Corr.)
39, 18	22, 17	10	74, 33	57, 14	20
39, 22 <i>n</i>	22, 13	7*+10 (10)	74, 37	64, 37	10
39, 25 <i>o</i>	22, 21	10	SECTION IV:		
39, 28	—	10	76, 34	83, 22	20
39, 35	25, 6	5	76, 37 <i>n</i>	85, 43	5 (10)
39, 38	35, 12	10	76, 47	87, 9	9
42, 39	38, 19	30	76, 51	88, 3	2
42, 43	38, 17	10	78, 31	87, 30	5
43, 15	38, 10	20	78, 34	100, 28	5
43, 19	40, 8	20	78, 37	88, 7	5
43, 28 <sup>1</sup> <i>n</i>	39, 14	30 (20)	78, 40 <i>n</i> <sup>3</sup>	93, 19	2 (3)
SECTION III:			78, 43 <i>n</i> <sup>3</sup>	95, 41	3 (2)
49, 31	52, 33	30	78, 49 <i>o. (n)</i>	83, 16	4 (3?)
49, 34	55, 34	1	79, 10 <i>m</i>	99, 9	10
49, 39	56, 41	1	79, 19	87, 33	10
49, 45 <i>o</i>	58, 21	10	79, 22 <i>o</i>	93, 16	3
50, 7	63, 44	20	79, 25 <i>o</i>	75, 52	2
50, 10	57, 11	5	79, 29	85, 32	5
50, 14	55, 32	20	79, 33	86, 2	2
50, 17	—	5	79, 36	87, 36	2
50, 42 <i>o</i>	48, 42	10	79, 41	85, 37	10
51, 11 <i>o</i>	59, 30	20	79, 47 <i>o</i>	88, 25	5
51, 26 <i>o</i>	70, 8	7	80, 3	93, 4	5
51, 41	56, 31	15	82, 43	85, 40	10
53, 39	45, 29	18	83, 29	86, 5	14*
53, 42 <i>m. n</i>	61, 34	5 (7)	93, 24	90, 23	20
64, 4 <i>o</i>	45, 11	10	93, 29	83, 6	2
64, 10	57, 6	25	93, 32	88, 21	20
64, 19 <i>o. n</i>	62, 23	15 (11)	93, 39	76, 5	10*+10 (= 20)
64, 24	57, 31	10	93, 42	88, 42	10
64, 42 <i>o</i>	57, 45	20	94, 6	88, 39	15
64, 45 <i>m</i>	57, 43	20	94, 26	83, 19	10
72, 12 <i>o</i>	46, 47	9 (Corr.)	94, 29 <i>o</i>	88, 33	20
72, 19 <i>o</i>	46, 49	9	94, 32	88, 15	15
72, 23 <i>l</i>	56, 3	5	94, 41	86, 34	10*+20 (= 30)
72, 27	59, 20	20	95, 4	81, 29	5
72, 30	—	20	95, 7	81, 43	20
72, 39	46, 38	20	95, 10 <i>o. n</i>	91, 37	5 (10)
73, 8	46, 3	5	98, 4	81, 26	10
73, 11	54, 44	5	98, 10 <i>m</i>	76, 23	5
73, 16	—	10	98, 20	91, 31	7
73, 25 <i>o</i>	68, 3	10	98, 23	86, 46	3
73, 40	59, 23	10	100, 18	—	10
73, 43	59, 16	10	101, 3	99, 5	10
74, 3 <i>l. o</i>	58, 13	10	101, 6 <i>m</i>	85, 35	8
74, 14	63, 46	10	101, 90	90, 25	20
			101, 18 <i>m</i>	83, 10	20

<sup>1</sup> This same plot is perhaps repeated in 74, 29 (Section III), but there without any *pōsh*-entry.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> There has been interchange of numbers in these two entries.



THE ENTRIES OF TYPE B IN CONSECUTIVE ORDER  
II

121

Type B	Type A	Arouras	Type B	Type A	Arouras
SECTION I:					
2, x+6	20, 33	10	45, 29	53, 39	18
2, x+13	19, 45	20	46, 3	73, 8	5
2, x+14	20, 23	25	46, 38	72, 39	20
2, x+15	19, 9	10	46, 47 o	72, 12	9 Corr.
6, 10	12, 3	20	46, 49 o	72, 19	9
6, 13	20, 43	[30]	48, 42 o	50, 42	10
6, 15	20, 46	[10]	52, 33	49, 31	30
6, 17	21, 3	[20]	54, 44	73, 11	5
6, 19 o	20, 40	[20]	55, 32	50, 14	20
10, 8 l	19, 37	20	55, 34	49, 34	1
16, 17	19, 41	40	56, 3 l	72, 23	5
16, 32	19, 27	10	56, 31	51, 41	15
			56, 41	49, 39	1
			57, 6	64, 10	25
			57, 11	50, 10	5
			57, 14	74, 33	20
			57, 31	64, 24	10
			57, 43 m	64, 45	20
			57, 45 o	64, 42	20
			58, 13 l. o	74, 3	10
			58, 21 o	49, 45	10
			59, 16	73, 43	10
			59, 19 l	74, 24	10
			59, 20	72, 27	20
			59, 23	73, 40	10
			59, 30 o	51, 11	20
			61, 34 l. m. n	53, 42	7 (5)
			62, 23 o. n	64, 19	11 (15) <sup>3</sup>
			63, 38	74, 27	20 Corr.
			63, 41 n	74, 21	10 (5)
			63, 44	50, 7	20
			63, 46	74, 14	10
			64, 37	74, 37	10
			68, 3	73, 25	10
			70, 8 o	51, 26	7
			SECTION IV:		
			75, 52 o	79, 25	[2]
			76, 5	93, 39	20 (10*+10)
			76, 23 m	98, 10	5
			81, 26	98, 4	10
			81, 29	95, 4	5
			81, 43	95, 7	20
			83, 6	93, 29	2
			83, 10 m	101, 18	20
			83, 16 o (n)	78, 49	3 <sup>2</sup> (4)
			83, 19	94, 26	10
			83, 22	76, 34	20
			85, 32	79, 29	5
			85, 35 m	101, 6	8
			85, 37	79, 41	10
			85, 40	82, 43	10
			85, 43 n	76, 37	10 (5)
SECTION II:					
22, 13 n	39, 22	10 (7*+10)			
22, 17	39, 18	[10]			
22, 19	—	—			
22, 21 o	39, 25	[10]			
24, 8	29, 16	7			
24, 16	29, 7	40 (20*+20)			
24, 22	34, 7	110 (50†+30*+30)			
24, 30 <sup>1</sup>	34, 24	10			
24, 36	29, 10	5			
25, 6	39, 35	5			
26, 5	34, 20	60			
26, 7	34, 14	5			
26, 9	34, 17	3			
27, 8	—	20			
28, 12	34, 40	10†			
28, 22	30, 4	25			
28, 26	30, 9	10			
[30, 25 hnk] n?	33, 15	20 — 5 (20)			
[31, 8 hnk] n	33, 11	60 — 5 (20)			
31, 44	34, 32	25 (20) <sup>2</sup>			
31, 47	34, 35	30			
32, 7	—	10 — 5			
35, 9	—	20 — 5			
35, 12	39, 38	10			
37, 33	29, 34	10			
37, 36	30, 13	5			
38, 10	43, 15	20			
38, 12	—	om.			
38, 17	42, 43	10			
38, 19	42, 39	30			
38, 21 n	33, 4	20 (40)			
38, 39	25, 26	5			
39, 14 n	43, 28	20 (30)			
40, 8	43, 19	20			
40, 45	34, 27	12			
SECTION III:					
45, 11 o	64, 4	10			

<sup>1</sup> Much destroyed.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 119, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The following red figure shows that 15 should have been read in the Type B entry as well as in that of Type A



APPENDIX B.—CORRESPONDENCE OF *PÔSH*-ENTRIES

Type B	Type A	Arouras	Type B	Type A	Arouras
SECTION IV			88, 21	93, 32	20
—cont.			88, 25 <i>o</i>	79, 47	5
86, 2	79, 33	2	88, 33 <i>o</i>	94, 29	20
86, 5	83, 29	14*	88, 39	94, 6	15
86, 34	94, 41	30 (10*+20)	88, 42	93, 42	10
86, 46	98, 23	3	90, 23	93, 24	20 <sup>1</sup>
87, 5	—	5	90, 25 <i>o</i>	101, 9	20
87, 9	76, 47	9	91, 31	98, 20	7
87, 30	78, 31	5	91, 37 <i>o. n</i>	95, 10	10 (5)
87, 33	79, 19	10	93, 4	80, 3	5
87, 36	79, 36	2	93, 16 <i>o</i>	79, 22	3
87, 41	[—]	20	93, 19 <i>n</i> <sup>2</sup>	78, 40	3 (2)
87, 43	[—]	20	95, 41 <i>n</i> <sup>2</sup>	78, 43	2 (3)
88, 3 <i>o</i>	76, 51	2	99, 5	101, 3	10
88, 7	78, 37	5	99, 9 <i>m</i>	79, 10	10
88, 15	94, 32	15	100, 28	78, 34	5
88, 18	[—]	10			

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps 10 should have stood in both entries.

<sup>2</sup> In these entries the numbers of arouras have been interchanged.



# APPENDIX C

## TABLE OF NUMBERS AND CORRESPONDING $7\frac{1}{2}$ PER CENT.

THE percentage is calculated, not on the number of arouras, but on the amount of corn resulting from that number multiplied by the rate of assessment. Under the heading 'Times of occurrence' are included the not very numerous cases where the percentage is lost.

<i>Mc. of corn</i>	<i><math>7\frac{1}{2}\%</math> in sacks</i>	<i>Times of occurrence</i>	<i>Errors in the percentage</i>
5	•▷ $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{2} (= \frac{3}{8})$	2	None.
10	•• $\frac{1}{2}$	7	"
15	▷ $1\frac{1}{2}$	5	"
20	[1: $1\frac{3}{4}$ ]	1	" In the sole example 78, 49 the percentage is lost.
25	1••▷ $1\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{2} (= 1\frac{7}{8})$	24	" For 73, 8; 80, 3; 98, 10 see Corr. to this volume.
35	11:▷ $2\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{2} (= 2\frac{7}{8})$	3	1. In 51, 26 ▷ has been wrongly omitted.
40	111 3	2	None.
45	111•▷ $3\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{2} (= 3\frac{3}{8})$	3	"
50	111•• $3\frac{1}{2}$	38	"
60	1111: $4\frac{3}{4} (= 4\frac{1}{2})$	2	"
75	1111:▷ $5\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{2} (= 5\frac{7}{8})$	7	1. In 51, 41 ▷ has been omitted.
90	1111:•• $6\frac{3}{4}$	1	None.
100	1111: $7\frac{3}{4} (= 7\frac{1}{2})$	32	1. In 93, 24 (= 90, 23) there are some errors in the figures.
102½	[1111:▷ $7\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2} (= 7\frac{7}{8})$ ]	1	1. In 39, 22 the number $52\frac{3}{4} + 50 = 102\frac{3}{4}$ is reckoned as a round 100 and receives the percentage $7\frac{3}{4}$ .
105	[1111:••▷ $7\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{2} (= 7\frac{7}{8})$ ]	1	1. In the sole example 83, 29 • $\frac{1}{2}$ is wrongly substituted for •• $\frac{1}{2}$ .
125	1111:▷ $9\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{2} (= 9\frac{3}{8})$	5	1. In 93, 39 the percentage on $75 + 50 = 125$ is given as $7\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{2} (= 7\frac{7}{8})$ .
150	n1• $11\frac{1}{2}$	6	None.
175	[n111▷ $13\frac{3}{4}$ ]	1	[None]. In the sole example 94, 41 the percentage on $75 + 100 = 175$ is lost.
200	n111 15	4	1. In 33, 4 $7\frac{3}{4}$ is given; the Type B entry 38, 21 gives 20, not 40 arouras.
250	n1111:•• $18\frac{3}{4}$	1	None. The percentage in 29, 7 is correctly calculated on $150 + 100 = 250$ .
300	R11: $22\frac{3}{4} (= 22\frac{1}{2})$	2	None.
335	[n111▷ $25\frac{3}{4}$ ]	1	1. In 12, 25 ▷ has been omitted.
875	[nnnn11:▷ $65\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{2} (= 65\frac{7}{8})$ ]	1	1. In 34, 7 the percentage on $500 + 225 + 150 = 875$ is wrongly given as $62\frac{3}{4}$ .



## CHAPTER II

### TEXT A. SYNOPSIS OF PARAGRAPH-HEADINGS

Non-apportioning paragraphs are marked with an asterisk \*  
 Apportioning paragraphs are marked with an obelus †  
 Paragraphs with the peculiar Harem assessments are marked ||

The text is divided into four sections.

Section I comprises §§ 1-50, i.e. from [1, 1] to 21, 15  
 „ II „ §§ 51-116, i.e. from 21, 16 to 43, 28  
 „ III „ §§ 117-207, i.e. from 44, 1 to 74, 37  
 „ IV „ §§ 208-end, i.e. from 75, 1 to end. 102

#### SECTION I

The section-heading, as well as many of the earlier paragraphs, must have been contained in a roll of which the Wilbour papyrus is the continuation, see above, pp. 11. 73. *Pōsh*-entries of Type A, to which there doubtless were in the lost portion corresponding entries of Type B, prove that this comprised the following paragraphs among others.

#### THEBES

§ A† The House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods:  
 Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Nome of Ninsu.

The great temple of Karnak; see § 51 for the heading and § 55 for the sub-heading. Either the heading (with additions) and the sub-heading may have had paragraphs to themselves, as in §§ 51. 55, or they may have been combined, as suggested above and following the model of § 69 or § 237. The same remark applies to the paragraphs enumerated below. The presence of § A in the lost roll is proved by 15, 42 compared with 29, 7 = 24, 16, this latter in § 55; so too 64, 4 = 45, 11, this latter in § 119. The *pōsh*-entry takes the form 'House of Amūn, domain of the Nome' in 15, 42 and the compared passages; for 'domain of the Nome', i.e. the Nome of Heracleopolis, see above, p. 39. The entries 19, 18. 21 having 'House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods', without 'domain of the Nome', make it probable that Section I contained no Karnak paragraph naming a different nome-administration as in §§ 54. 118; otherwise a differentiating addition would have been necessary.

§ B† The Mansion of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usima'rē-skheperenrē in the House of Amūn:

Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Nome of Ninsu.

The funerary temple of Ramesses V on the West bank, see below, § 58. The *pōsh*-entries abbreviate the name of the temple to 'The Mansion of Pharaoh', e.g. 9, 21; 11, 49; 13, 27, together with p. 10, n. 1 above. To this is added 'domain of the Nome' in the places cited, but these words are omitted in 20, 4; 21, 11. 15; see on § A.

§ C† The Mansion of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usima'rē-miamūn in the House of Amūn:  
 Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Nome of Ninsu.

The temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, see below, § 64. The *pōsh*-entries 19, 24; 20, 30 omit 'in the House of Amūn'; 21, 7 has this, but omits the reference to the nome-administration.

§ D† The Mansion of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usima'rē-setpenrē in the House of Amūn:  
 Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Nome of Ninsu.

The great temple of Ramesses II known as the Ramesseum, see below § 69. The existence of the paragraph is proved by 'the Mansion of Usima'rē-setpen[rē, domain of the N]ome' in the *pōsh*-entry 16, 44; for the omission of 'in the House of Amūn' see on §§ B. C; similarly doubtless in the damaged entry 32, 1.



## HELIOPOLIS

§ E† The House of Rē<sup>c</sup>-Ḥarakhti under the authority of the Greatest of Seers:  
Apportioning domain of this house (on) the West Side of Tpēḥu.

Evidently the principal temple of Heliopolis; both heading and sub-heading of § 144 have the form indicated above, and though that paragraph has no *pōsh*-entries of Type B, if it had, the *pōsh*-entries of Type A corresponding to them would doubtless have had the wording 'the House of Rē<sup>c</sup>, domain of the West Side' found in 17, 6; 18, 36; 20, 8. 11. 15. For the nome-administration of Aphroditopolis here alluded to, see p. 39 above. A similar *pōsh*-entry, naming a different nome-administration, occurs in 101, 6, but there, despite a discrepancy in the line of measurement, 'House of Rē<sup>c</sup>' appears from the corresponding *pōsh*-entry 85, 35 to refer to the temple of Ramesses II at Heliopolis, see § 236, heading.

§ F† The Mansion of Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-miamūn, Beloved like Rē<sup>c</sup>:  
Apportioning domain of this house (on) the West Side of Tpēḥu(?).

This temple of Ramesses II, possibly situated not at Heliopolis itself, but somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kōm Medinet Ghurāb (see above, p. 12), occurs in the Heliopolitan portion of Section IV, see § 237, where there is a sub-heading like that postulated here, but naming Ḥardai. The *pōsh*-entries indicating this paragraph, namely, 16, 41; 19, 34, have simply 'The Mansion Beloved like Rē<sup>c</sup>' with the same abbreviation as in 76, 51 = 88, 3 (see too in Text B, e.g. 7, 4. 22), but unlike this last omit reference to the nome-administration. One may hesitate for § F between a reference to Heracleopolis or one to Aphroditopolis; I have supposed the second of these, as in the case of § E, the other Heliopolitan temple.

## MEMPHIS

§ G† The Foreland(?) of Binerē<sup>c</sup> in the House of Ptaḥ.

A paragraph with this heading alluding to a Memphite foundation of King Menepthah is proved by 16, 37. No such land-owning institution is named elsewhere, and the meaning of *hnt* here is problematical, see p. 13, n. 6.

That the Wilbour papyrus began in the middle of the paragraphs devoted to Memphite temples is sufficiently indicated by § 3 A below.

[§ 1 (. . . . ?)\* Lost.]

Some Memphite temple or chapel.

§ 2 (1, x+4)\* Do[main of] this house [administered by the hand of the . . . . .] Seti, son of Sebk-hotpe(?).

§ 3 (1, x+7)† Apportioning domain [of this house] . . . . .

[§ 3A (2, . . . ?)† Great Seat of Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-miamūn in the House of Ptaḥ].

That all that remains of col. 2 refers to lands owned by this Memphite institution of Ramesses II is proved by the *pōsh*-entries corresponding to 2, x+6, x+13, x+14, x+15, for which see Appendix B and p. 67, n. 2. The institution is discussed above, p. 13, with n. 1; paragraphs devoted to it, all apportioning, are found in the other sections, see §§ 81. 148. 239; its herbage, see §§ 183. 246; food for its white goats, § 190. It is referred to in many *pōsh*-entries, e.g. 39, 38; 49, 45, and *khato*-lands of Pharaoh lying upon its fields are often mentioned in Text B, e.g. 11, 6; 15, 11.

SMALLER TEMPLES, see pp. 13 ff. and Table I.

§ 4 (4, y+1-2)\* [The House of Arsa]phes, King of the Two Lands, under the authority of the prophet [Nūfe]:

Regular [domain] of this house under his authority.

This is the chief temple of Ninsu, Heracleopolis Magna, Arab. Ahnās, now Ihnāsyah el-Medīnah. Remains are still left, see Porter and Moss, *Topogr. Bibliogr.*, IV, 118. The god's name receives the epithet 'King of the Two Lands', as here, in Harris, 61, b, 13; Cairo, *Journ. d'entrée* 39410 = *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 821; and often in the temple itself, see Petrie, *Ehnasya*, passim. The *pōsh*-entries 12, 3; 20, 40 have simply 'Arsaphes' without 'House of'.

The expression 'regular domain' has been discussed on p. 22. For the prophet Nūfe see Table III; from B18, 5 it is clear that there were at least five prophets. The 'overseer of cattle' was 'Ashahabsed, see on § 5.



SMALLER TEMPLES: Heracleopolis (*continued*)

§ 5 (5, x+10-2)\* [Domain of] this [house] under the authority of the overseer of cattle 'Asha[em-habsed]:

..... y .....  
Do[main] .....

The name of this overseer of cattle is written clearly as above in 8, 20; obscurely in 6, x+15, and as 'Ashaemhab in B23, 35; doubtless 'Ashaḥabsed was the true form. In the two former places he is himself a holder of land, while in the example from Text B he is in control of *khato*-lands.

§ 6 (6, 7)† Ap[portioned] harvest-taxes of this ho[use] under the authority of the prophet Nūfe.

For the term *šmtw* 'harvest-taxes' see pp. 24 f., and for the prophet Nūfe see Table III.

§ 7 (9, 1)\* [The Sunshade of Rē'-]Ḥarakhti which is in Ninsu.

For the chapels known as Sunshades, see p. 16; for this particular one and its two prophets Neferkhaḥ and Kḥaḥa see Table III; they occur only in Text B.

§ 8 (9, 6)\* [The] Mansion of Raḥmesse-miamūn who hears prayer in the House of Arsaphes.

Much building of the reign of Ramesses II is found at Ihnāsyah, see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, IV, 118-19, but none with this epithet.

§ 9 (9, 9)\* The Mansion of Raḥmesse-miamūn in the House of Arsaphes.

See on § 8, but this temple was evidently distinct from that named there. The stela of Shoshenḳ I, Cairo *Journ. d'entrée* 39410 (see on § 4), mentions in l. 29 a 'prophet of Arsaphes of Ramesses'.

§ 10 (9, 18)\* The Foundation of the Vizier Raḥotpe, who is dead.

For the metaphorically used word *mṛwd* 'staff' see p. 18. The reference is to a funerary foundation of this well-known vizier of Ramesses II; as Černý has pointed out, fragments of it appear to have been actually discovered at Sidmant, a short distance to the north-west of Heracleopolis, see Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment II*, pp. 28 ff.

[§ 11 (after 9, 45)\* The House of Osiris Khant-'Aru.]

The *pōsh*-entry 19, 37 = 10, 7 furnishes us with the lost heading. This unknown temple is mentioned again, together with its prophet Huy, in B24, 33; see too there, 6, 4, and perhaps also simply as 'House of Osiris', B9, 2; the 'House of Osiris' of B25, 6 appears to be a different local chapel.

§ 12 (10, 18-9)\* The House of Suchus the Shedtite, [Horus in the midst of To(?)–Sh]e:

Domain of this house [founded by Phar]aoh under the authority of the prophet Hōri.

The first line has been restored in the Corrigenda Pl. 73 (A) from Harris 61, b, 14, but see also pp. 42 f., where a slight modification is proposed. This temple is doubtless that of Crocodilopolis, the modern Medīnet el-Fayyūm, though if so there is a departure from the south-north order usually observed by Text A in connexion with the smaller temples. The *pōsh*-entry 6, 9 refers to this temple simply as 'the House of Suchus', cf. also 18, 9; 21, 8. For the prophet Hōri (I) see Table III; he is hardly likely to have been identical with, but may have been related to, the 'first prophet of Suchus the Shedtite Hōri' who lived under Ramesses IX and inscriptions from whose Fayyūm tomb are published by Daressy, *Rec. trav.*, XIV, 28. For other prophets of this god see § 14; B §§ 25, 26; possibly also Sebkmošē of A 15, 9. The 'overseer of cattle' was 'Ankhaḥ, see § 18.

§ 13 (11, 7)\* Domain of this house newly founded by King Ḥekmaḥrē-setpenamūn under his authority.

A foundation of Ramesses IV. See too § 15.

§ 14 (12, 20)\* Domain of [this house] newly founded by Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet Sunero.

A foundation of Ramesses V. For Sunero see Table III.

§ 15 (13, 3)\* Domain of this house ne[wly] founded by King Ḥekmaḥrē-setpenamūn [under] his [authority].

Doubtless the same foundation of Ramesses IV as in § 13, but these particular fields were managed by a different prophet, the Sunero named in § 14.



SMALLER TEMPLES: Fayyūm (*continued*)

§ 16 (13, 22)\* Regular domain of this house under his authority.

For the expression 'regular domain' see above, p. 22.

§ 17 (14, 5)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

For the term *šmw* 'harvest-taxes' see pp. 24 f.

§ 18 (15, 17)\* Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle 'Ankhaṣ.

For domains administered by officials with this title see p. 23.

§ 19 (15, 22)\* The House of Isis, the Great, the (God's) Mother.

Doubtless in Crocodilopolis itself, since the solitary field ascribed to this chapel is said in 15, 23 to lie 'north of the temple of Suchus'.

§ 20 (15, 25)\* The House of Suchus, lord of Shedē, which is in Rē-n-ḥōne.

Rē-n-ḥōne, 'Lake's Mouth', i.e. the entrance to the Fayyūm, is discussed on pp. 29 f., 43 f. The name is the origin of the modern El-Lāhūn, but possibly the temple here mentioned lay further along the arm of the Baḥr Yūsuf leading into the Fayyūm, see p. 44.

§ 21 (15, 30)\* The House of Suchus, lord of . . . . . [under the authority of the proph]et P'ōnpōr.

The restoration 'lord of [Shedē]' suggested in the transcription on the basis of 15, 25 is improbable, since the name of a locality differentiating this temple from that of § 20 is required. The prophet P'ōnpōr appears as the holder of plots of his own in 1, x+14; 8, 53; 15, 37.

§ 22 (15, 35)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

§ 23 (15, 39)\* The House of Amūn who hears from afar.

Nothing more is known of this chapel than what can be inferred from its position here. Amen-Rē is found with this epithet on a small fragmentary stela of Ramesses III brought to M. Naville by peasants at Kantīr in the Eastern Delta, see Naville, *Goshen*, Pl. 9, F.

§ 24 (16, 1)\* The House of Amūn, (Lord of) Thrones of the Two Lands, in the midst of She.

For the town of She near Mi-wēr (Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb), and for the possibility that this is the 'Ἀμμωνιῶν of Moeris mentioned in the Greek papyri, see pp. 44 ff.

§ 25 (16, 4)\* The House of the Divine Ennead in Barna under the authority of the prophet . . . . .

Barna, mentioned again in this form in the lines of measurement 13, 50; 15, 15, is probably a more correct writing of the Robana mentioned in the Golénischeff Onomasticon between She and Mi-wēr, see p. 44. This 'House of the Divine Ennead' has clearly nothing to do with that in Kheraḥa (Old Cairo, Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, II, 78, where *Piankhi* 101 has been overlooked), nor yet probably with that in the Golénischeff Onomasticon, 5, 9.

§ 26 (16, 9)\* The Sunshade of Rē-Ḥarakhti which is in She under the authority of the prophet Amenkhaṣ.

For the chapels known as Sunshades, see p. 16, and for this particular chapel see B § 35, where, however, it is under a prophet named Henūfe. In the *pōsh*-entries 19, 27. 41 it is referred to as 'the Sunshade which is in She'. The curious fact that temples or chapels in the town of She occur both before (§ 24) and after one belonging to Barna is commented upon on p. 44. The prophet Amenkhaṣ is mentioned in 16, 25-8 as holding plots of his own.

§ 27 (16, 14)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

§ 28 (16, 34)\* The House of Nephthys of Raṣmesse-miamūn which is in the House of Seth.

The question whether this temple is the similarly named foundation of Ramesses II in Spermeru (see on § 94) is not easy to answer. If §§ 28-9 refer to Spermeru (see pp. 41 f.), these paragraphs are glaringly out of place, and there is the alternative possibility that they may refer to Su, where the god Seth, whose temple is mentioned in *Harris*, 61, b, 15 just before Amūn in the Backland, as here, might well have had Nephthys as his consort; also it would be a little surprising if no fields belonging to a deity of Su were mentioned in Section I, the more so since B § 52 deals with *khato*-lands administered by a prophet of Seth of that town. As against this, Nephthys of Su is a pure hypothesis, and it would be a coincidence that her chapel at that town should be a foundation of Ramesses II, like that at



SMALLER TEMPLES: Su (*continued*)

Spermeru; further, the coincidence is heightened by the fact that in § 29, as in § 169 referring to Spermeru, a Sunshade immediately follows the mention of the chapel of Nephthys. Thus far the two possibilities seem equally balanced, or at first sight so seemed. I am convinced, however, that the line of measurement A16, 39 should be taken as turning the scale in favour of Su, since here the locality is surely to be restored as 'north-east of Su', cf. 'north-west of Su' B24, 30, in B § 52 aforementioned.

§ 29 (16, 38)\* The Sunshade of Rēc-Ḥarakhti which is in this house.

See on § 28. No reference is made elsewhere to a Sunshade in Su, though one is mentioned in connexion with Spermeru (§ 169).

§ 30 (17, 1-2)\* The House of Amūn, (lord of) Thrones of the Two Lands, in the Backland:

Domain of this house newly founded by Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet Ḥōri.

This temple is placed by *Harris*, 61, b, 16 between Su and Aphroditopolis (Aṭfih). This temple is the last of the consecutive series of small temples, but later on in this section three more (§§ 34-6) are found that appear to be out of place. The prophet Ḥōri is not mentioned elsewhere in our papyrus.

HERBAGE PARAGRAPHS. For these see pp. 22 f. above.

§ 31 (17, 7)† Herbage of the House of Amen-Rēc, (King) of the Gods.

I.e. of the great temple of Karnak (§ 51). The same heading §§ 104. 174. The *pōsh*-entry 34, 27 (cf. too 101, 9) includes the word *sm* 'herbage'.

§ 32 (17, 18)† Herbage of the Mansion of Usima'rēc-setpenrēc in the House of Amūn.

I.e. of the Ramesseum (§ 69). The same heading §§ 106. 176. 243. The *pōsh*-entry 93, 24 contains the word *sm*.

§ 33 (18, 27)† Herbage of the Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn, Beloved like Rēc.

For this temple perhaps near Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb (p. 12) see on § 237. Its herbage is named again in the headings of §§ 107. 181. 245; in the first of these the King's name is omitted, as in the *pōsh*-entries 95, 10; 98, 20, where the word *sm* is found; in the *pōsh*-entry 73, 25 the King's name is retained, but *sm* omitted.

SMALLER TEMPLES (resumed). Since the three following are separated from §§ 4-30 by the three herbage paragraphs, it is somewhat doubtful whether they observe the usual south-north order.

§ 34 (18, 33)\* The House of Isis of Ra'messe-miamūn which is (in) The Village of Ran.

Otherwise unknown.

§ 35 (18, 37)\* The Sunshade of Rēc-Ḥarakhti which is in Shatina.

Temple and locality are alike unknown.

§ 36 (19, 1)\* The House of Kha'ka(u)rēc which is (in) . . . . .

An unknown foundation of Sesostri III.

## LANDING-PLACE OF PHARAOH.

§ 37 (19, 6)\* The Landing-place of Pharaoh in Mi-wēr.

For landing-places on the Nile or its branches as owners of fields see p. 18. This particular landing-place, mentioned again B15, 8. 17, as well as in the destroyed *pōsh*-entry 2, x+15, was situated at Mi-wēr 'the Great Canal', the Greek *Μοῖρις*, i.e. Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb, better known as Gurob; see above, pp. 44 f. In Greek times *Πτολεμαῖς* 'Ptolemais the Harbour' occupied the same spot, and this name is an almost exact translation of *ἡ ἐκκλιῶν Πρ-εῖ* 'the Landing-place of Pharaoh' here. The fields are shown by the first passage quoted to have been administered by the mayor of Mi-wēr.

THE TWO HAREMS. As land-owning institutions, see p. 18.

§ 38 (19, 10-1)|| The Harem in Memphis:

Domain of this house under the authority of the mayor of Tpēhu.

Mentioned again in §§ 110. 277, where the fields in question are in the charge of the mayor of Ḥardai and the overseer of cattle of Karnak respectively. External sources name four of the Overseers of the King's Apartments who were at the head of this Harem, see p. 18, n. 3. The sub-heading here refers to the chief official in Tpēhu; this is Aphroditopolis, the modern Aṭfih, see p. 39.



THE TWO HAREMS (*continued*)

## § 39 (19, 14-15)\* The Harem (in) Mi-wēr:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Penḥasi.

Other paragraphs referring to this Harem are §§ 111, 112, 278, 279, the first and fourth detailing lands under the overseer of cattle of Karnak, Raṁmessenakhte by name, while in the second the fields are in the charge of Pkatja the overseer of cattle of the temple of Ramesses II at Memphis. The Harem's own overseer is alluded to in B § 21 and probably in A §§ 41, 48, and there are frequent mentions of it elsewhere, see pp. 45 f. Mi-wēr is Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb ('Gurob'), see on § 37. The controller of the Harem Penḥasi is not unnaturally found also in charge of fields belonging to the house of the Queen 38, 17, besides being mentioned in 16, 24 and in the *pōsh*-entry referring to this Harem 16, 32; for his title see p. 18, n. 4.

MINĚ-LAND OF PHARAOH. For this term see p. 18 and again pp. 165 f.

## § 40 (19, 31)\* Minē-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the (Overseer of) Prophets.

Substantially the same heading occurs in § 198. For the high priestly official here in question see Table III, under Merybarsē (2). The *pōsh*-entry 10, 8 attributes to *khato*-land a plot occurring in this paragraph; exactly the same discrepancy in 56, 3 = 72, 23.

## § 41 (19, 38)\* Minē-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the Overseer of the King's Apartments.

The unnamed official mentioned here, in § 48, and in B § 21, was doubtless the head of the Harem in Mi-wēr (§ 39). A *pōsh*-entry, see 16, 16.

## § 42 (19, 42)\* Minē-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the mayor of Mi-wēr.

For Mi-wēr and its mayors at various periods see p. 45, nn. 1, 2. The mayor of Text A is nameless, see also § 45; in B § 12 he is named Seti. The *pōsh*-entry in 2, x+13 is almost completely destroyed.

## § 43 (20, 1)\* Minē-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the mayor of Southern She.

On the town here mentioned see pp. 45 ff.; its mayor, alluded to in § 46, is named Ipuy in B § 13.

KHATO-LAND OF PHARAOH. For this term see p. 18 and again pp. 165 ff.

## § 44 (20, 5)\* Khato-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the standard-bearer of the Residence Merenptah.

In § 7 of Text B this military officer is found in charge of *khato*-lands in no less than fifty-seven different localities, these including the three mentioned here and the one in § 113 below; corresponding lines are 20, 6 = B 10, 4; 20, 9 = B 10, 7; 20, 12 = B 10, 5; 43, 13 (with the *pōsh*-entry 38, 10) = B 10, 16.

## § 45 (20, 16)\* Khato-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the mayor of Mi-wēr.

For the personage and place here mentioned see on §§ 37, 42. The same fields are dealt with in B § 12; corresponding lines are 20, 17, 19 = B 15, 8; 20, 21 (with the *pōsh*-entry 2, x+14) = B 15, 11; 20, 26 = B 15, 13; 20, 28 = B 15, 20, 21; 20, 31 (with the *pōsh*-entry 2, x+6) = B 15, 12.

## § 46 (20, 34)\* Khato-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the mayor of Southern She.

For the personage and place see on § 43. The same fields occur in B § 13, where the locality of 20, 35 is named in B 16, 6.

## § 47 (20, 37)\* Khato-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet of the House of Arsaphes Nūfe.

For the temple of Arsaphes at Heracleopolis and its prophets see on § 4. All the fields here referred to appear to be mentioned in B § 18, though there said to be under the five prophets of the temple; corresponding lines are 20, 38 (with *pōsh*-entry 6, 19) = B 18, 6; 20, 41 (*pōsh*, 6, 13) = B 18, 10; 20, 44 (*pōsh*, 6, 15) = B 18, 11; 21, 1 (*pōsh*, 6, 17) = B 18, 15, but in the last three references to Text B the writing of the place-names is widely different.

## § 48 (21, 4)\* Khato-land of Pharaoh [under the authority of] the (Overseer) of the King's Apartments.

The title of the functionary here in charge has to be emended as in § 41, though the same omission of the word for 'overseer' occurs in the corresponding heading of Text B (§ 21). The plot here mentioned occurs there in B 19, 15, where it is likewise connected with the temple of Medīnet Habu.



*KHATO-LAND OF PHARAOH (continued)*

§ 49 (21, 8)\* *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet of the House of Suchus Hōri.

For this prophet and his temple, probably at Crocodilopolis, see on § 12. In B §§ 25, 26 other prophets of this temple are found in charge of *khato*-lands, and there the plot mentioned in our paragraph is not named.

§ 50 (21, 12)\* *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet Sunero.

This prophet of Suchus has been met with already in § 14. In B § 26 he is named as acting for the prophet Amenuia in the administration of *khato*-lands, but that paragraph does not mention the fields here in question.

## SECTION II

(21, 16) Year 4, [second month of the Inundation-season], day 15 to day 20, making six days, assessment made by——.

On this section-heading see above, p. 9.

## THEBES

§ 51 (21, 17-18)\* The House of A[men-Rē], King of the Gods, under the authority of the (First) Prophet (of) Amūn Ra'messenakhte:

Domain of this [house] (administered) by the hand of the controller Harnūfe.

On the temple of Karnak as a land-owning institution see above, p. 11, and for its well-known High-priest Ra'messenakhte see Table III. This greatest and most important of the temples of Egypt probably had several paragraphs devoted to it in the lost part of Section I (see § A above, p. 124), as it has here in Section II (§§ 51-7) and again in Sections III (§§ 117-21) and IV (§§ 208-12); in every case it takes precedence of all other temples. Besides this, paragraphs are elsewhere devoted to the fields supplying herbage for its cattle (§§ 31, 104, 174), though none speak of white goats belonging to it. Within the series of Karnak paragraphs is one (§ 209) dealing with fields that produced provender for its Northern Oasis asses and another (§ 120) headed 'Domain of the offerings of [Amen-]Rē, King of the Gods' with the sub-heading 'Domain which makes provender for the cattle under the authority of the overseer of cattle Ra'messenakhte'; § 210, which names this last official, may possibly refer to the same administrative department, though without describing it in the same terms. In Text B many *khato*-lands of Pharaoh are said to be 'on fields of the House of Amūn' (e.g. 2, 5; 4, 4; 5, 16), the expanded form 'Amen-Rē, King of the Gods' being substituted for 'Amūn' only in B 7, 19; 10, 17.

In *pōsh*-entries the temple of Karnak is usually (eight times in all) referred to as 'the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods', e.g. 19, 18, 21; 34, 7, 27; but three times the name is shortened to 'House of Amūn', 15, 42; 29, 7; 64, 4. The same variation of nomenclature is found in the titles of the High-priest (full form 36, 32) and of the overseer of cattle (full form, 75, 11; 101, 20), as also in several expressions of the Amiens papyrus (*JEA*, xxvii, 46-7), and is of interest as showing that when a temple is said to be 'in the House of Amūn', this implies it to be a dependency of the Karnak temple.

As regards the functionaries connected with the great Karnak temple, details will be given concerning each in the paragraph where he first occurs. No doubt the High-priest Ra'messenakhte (see Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon*, pp. 177 ff.) had general authority over all the domains mentioned, but it is only in this paragraph that he is named as directly the superior of as unimportant an official as a mere 'controller' (*rwdw*); of this controller, Harnūfe by name, nothing more is known. In § 208 the Steward of Amūn (see on § 52) intervenes as the immediate chief of a controller Beknamūn, while he himself appears as subordinate to the High-priest. The said Steward of Amūn has under him the scribe Amenhotpe in § 52, and in other paragraphs the controllers Amenemuia (§ 53), Amenhotpe (§ 117)—possibly identical with the afore-mentioned scribe—besides the already mentioned Beknamūn. Of another controller Usihē (§ 209) it is said that he looked after the fields providing provender for the donkeys (see above), his chief again being the Steward of Amūn. Two other heads of departments are subsumed under the title of 'officials' (see p. 22): these are the overseer of the granary Neferho (§ 56) and the deputy Ptaḥemḥab (§ 212). The domains calling for the activities of the overseer of cattle Ra'messenakhte have been mentioned above; and a predecessor of his named Pmerēhu is recorded in B § 27. Is it not possible that the fields under the authority of the stable-master Psiūr (§ 121) were concerned with the grazing of the temple's horses, if such existed?

The fields of six apportioning paragraphs relating to the Karnak temple were under the control of a nome-administration, see pp. 39 f.: those of §§ A, 55 and 119 under the administration of Ninsu (Heracleopolis), and those of §§ 54, 118 and 211 under the administration of Hardai (Cynopolis). Subsidiary temples immediately following the Karnak paragraphs are those of Queen Ti'o (§ 57) and of the goddess Mut of Ashru (§ 213); the temple of Ramesses II in the very midst of the Karnak complex is named in § 117 as under the Steward of Amūn.



THEBES, the temple of Karnak (*continued*)

## § 52 (21, 33-4)\* Domains of this house under the authority of the Steward of Amūn:

Domain of this house in the region of Sekh-en-W'ab-yeb (administered) by the hand of the scribe Amenhotpe.

The plural 'domains' is used in order to make the paragraph embrace § 53 as well as § 52. The title 'Steward of Amūn', when given in this full form (here with definite article, in §§ 117, 152, 208 without) is never accompanied by a name, but there seems little doubt that its bearer was identical with the 'steward Usima'rēnakhte' mentioned a number of times (e.g. 65, 11; 67, 23) as a holder of land—so also in Sekh-en-W'ab-yeb 27, 41. In Text B, where he receives the title 'Royal scribe and steward' (1, 2), this Usima'rēnakhte, who has been shown (p. 20) to have been a son of the High-priest of Amūn, Ra'messenakhte, is far and away the most extensive administrator of *khato*-land of Pharaoh. Curiously enough, he is not mentioned in that capacity in Text A, where, however, there is a paragraph (§ 201) concerning *khato*-land administered by the Chief Taxing-master (*pr r n st*), a title not occurring in Text B; for this reason it must be conjectured that the person so designated was none other than the steward Usima'rēnakhte himself, the more so since one or two places mentioned in § 201 are named also on p. 3 of Text B; it is worth noting that the father of the High-priest Ra'messenakhte bore the title of Chief Taxing-master, see Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon*, p. 264. Assuming the identity of the Steward of Amūn with Usima'rēnakhte, the latter is found in control of some fields belonging to the House of Ramesses II within the precincts of Karnak (§§ 117, 152), though in the present paragraph and in § 208 he is connected only with Karnak generally; under his own name he is mentioned in §§ 131, 223 as in charge of land belonging to Medīnet Habu, and it is noticeable that in § 223 he is assisted, like the Steward of Amūn in § 53, by the controller Amenemuia. More has been said about his functions and subordinates under § 51. Outside the Wilbour papyrus Usima'rēnakhte has been found only on the lintel mentioned on p. 20. In Text A there are two other occurrences of the title 'steward' (lit. 'overseer of the house', appearing to correspond, when used of the steward of Pharaoh, to the Greek *διοικήτης*, but to the Greek *οἰκονόμος* in lesser households) which cause some difficulty. In § 129 it is uncertain whether '(the) steward (and the) overseer of the granary Kha'emwēse' refers to one person by two titles, which is unusual—the combination of these two offices under one holder is found *Rec. Trav.*, XIV, 27—or whether this domain of the temple of Medīnet Habu was administered jointly by the steward (Usima'rēnakhte) and the overseer of the granary Kha'emwēse, which would also be unusual and is open to the further objection that § 131 refers to Usima'rēnakhte alone. Secondly, § 226 speaks of a domain of Medīnet Habu under the steward (*imy-r pr*) Pēl, while § 223 had named one under the steward Usima'rēnakhte; in § 254 we read of a foundation of Ramesses III at Anasha which was under one Pēl 'who had been major-domo' (*r n pr*); if 'major-domo' were merely a modernized version of the title 'steward' one might conjecture that this Pēl was a deceased or superseded predecessor of Usima'rēnakhte, and this conjecture derives some support from the fact that the same two controllers (*rwdw*) who are given to the steward Usima'rēnakhte in the Medīnet Habu paragraphs §§ 131-2 are attributed to 'the major-domo' in §§ 66-7; on the other hand, at least one inscription (Brit. Mus. 138, decree relating to Amenhotpe, son of Hapu, l. 11) speaks of the steward (*imy-r pr*) and major-domo (*r n pr*) as though the titles were really distinct. That the title 'Steward of Amūn' was one of very high importance is clear from the fact that it had been borne by no less a personage than Senenmūt, the favourite of Hashepsowe, and is confirmed for Dyn. XX by the Amiens papyrus, see *JEA*, XXVII, 42-3; but further information about the functions of the bearer does not seem to be forthcoming. Some references are given in Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres*, 42; others are Borchardt, *Statuen*, III, 47 (Cairo 707); Legrain, *Statues*, II, 46 (Cairo 42180); Abbott *dockets*, A 25, 27.

The sub-heading is unique inasmuch as it contains a topographical restriction of the fields to be enumerated, for on pp. 39 ff. it is shown that qualifications like 'the Tract of Hardai' are of administrative, and not of topographical, import. The question of Sekh-en-W'ab-yeb is there likewise fully discussed, the conclusion reached being that this cannot possibly be identical with the similarly named territory of the Aphroditopolite nome. The scribe Amenhotpe may be identical with the 'controller' of the same name found in § 117 as subordinate to the Steward of Amūn; see too on § 128. This scribe is mentioned several times as himself a holder of land (23, 11, 19, 27; 27, 29) or as in some obscure relation (see p. 77) to another holder (23, 14, 17).

## § 53 (22, 8)\* Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Amenemuia.

This domain was likewise under the authority of the Steward of Amūn, and the controller Amenemuia has been mentioned already as serving in § 223 as his subordinate. This Amenemuia is also often mentioned in the *pōsh*-entries to the latter paragraph after the word *rmny*, e.g. 85, 32, 37.

## § 54 (22, 11)† Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Hardai.

The words '(in) the Tract of Hardai' mean in effect 'in the administration of the Cynopolite nome', see the detailed discussion on pp. 39 f.



THEBES, the temple of Karnak (*continued*)

§ 55 (24, 13)† Apportioning domain [of this house] (in) the Nome of Ninsu.

The fields dealt with in this paragraph are distinguished from those in § 54 by falling under a different nome administration, that of Heracleopolis. So too §§ 118-19. Full discussion, see pp. 39 f.

§ 56 (25, 11-12)\* Domains of this house under the authority of officials:

Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of the granary Neferho.

In the first line the plural 'domains' seems to promise subsequent paragraphs where another 'official' is in control, as in §§ 124-5; 215-16; in point of fact, no official is named in § 57; a quite similar case, §§ 212-3. 'Officials' appears to be used in a special, but obscure, technical sense, see p. 22. This Neferho is not mentioned elsewhere.

§ 57 (25, 15)† The House of Tico in the House of Amūn.

An unknown chapel doubtless of the consort of Amenophis II, the mother of Tuthmosis IV, see Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, II, 287. From the position of the paragraph the chapel may be concluded to have lain within the great temple of Karnak.

§ 58 (25, 21-3)\* The Mansion of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usimaṛē-s[kheperenrē in the] House of Amūn:

Domain of this house under the authority of the First Prophet [of Amūn]:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller [Pra]nakhte.

This is perhaps the temple, planned of a size 'half again as large as the largest mortuary temple in Thebes', the scanty remains of which were discovered by Winlock in 1912-13 (see his *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, 9 ff.) and subsequently investigated more fully by Lansing, see *Bull. Metr. Mus. Art* (New York), Egypt. Suppl., May, 1917, p. 8, and again *op. cit.*, Nov. 1935, pp. 6 ff. The temple lies at the cultivation end of the avenue of Nebhepetrē-Menthotpe, and (to quote Lansing) 'among the many fragments of stone, mostly small chips left by the later quarrymen, were a few bearing the names of Ramesses V and Ramesses VI'. Lansing's excavations unearthed, however, no less than seven foundation deposits all bearing the name of Ramesses IV. If, in spite of this last fact, Winlock regarded, and still regards, the vast temple in question as that of Ramesses V, it is because Lord Carnarvon's work had revealed a temple of Ramesses IV (or perhaps only the foundation deposit of such a temple?) slightly farther to the north, see Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Explorations*, pp. 9, 48, with Pls. XXX. XL. Winlock's explanation of the deposits of Ramesses IV found in the temple dug by himself and Lansing is that 'as these little objects were probably turned out by the thousands, it is possible that there were a great many of Ramesses IV on hand a few years later when his successor, Ramesses V, started his temple'. It seems very difficult to believe that Ramesses V used for a funerary temple actually begun by himself a set of objects all plainly bearing the name of his predecessor; at least a few with his own name would be expected. Lansing appears to agree on this point, as he writes: 'It was Ramesses IV, therefore, who had started the work on this site, and his two successors had merely carried on'. If, none the less, it is here regarded as possible that a temple originally projected as his own by Ramesses IV is that which the Wilbour papyrus attributes to Ramesses V, this is because of the remains of Ramesses V actually found on the site. It would seem that none of the three kings Ramesses IV, V, and VI lived to see the gigantic structure completed, and each in his turn may have regarded it as his own funerary temple. Against this view, however, must be set the fact that our papyrus specifically refers to a funerary temple of Ramesses IV as an institution still very much alive, see below under § 60. The name of the temple of Ramesses V is written with the *prenomen* also in § 122, but with the *nomen* Raṁesse-Amenḥikhopshef-miamūn in §§ 187. 214, contrary to the general practice for funerary temples (*hwt*), these usually having the *prenomen*, see Schaedel, *Listen des großen Papyrus Harris*, 17; *JEA*, xxvi, 127. In corresponding *pōsh*-entries 'The Mansion of Pharaoh' is always written, see p. 10, n. 1, and this shows that 'The Mansion of Pharaoh in the House of Amūn' in the headings of §§ 62. 105 refers to the Theban funerary temple; cf. too 66, 20. Yet another variant is 'The Mansion of Millions in the House of Amūn', § 247. A 'House [□□] of Raṁesse-Amenḥikhopshef-miamūn' (§ 274, so too in the *pōsh*-entries 85, 35; 99, 5) appears from its position to have been a small temple in Sakō. Of the above-mentioned references to the Theban temple, § 105 deals with its 'Herbage' and §§ 187. 247 with its 'Food for White Goats'; in § 62 it is the foundation (*sdf*) with which was associated a local chapel of Mont at Inroyshes, see Appendix A, under 4. On the analogy of other temples one might have expected to find in Text B 'on the fields of The Mansion of Pharaoh', but of this only one damaged and uncertain example occurs (19, 16); it is, however, just possible that the frequent 'on the fields of Pharaoh' (e.g. B 3, 24. 27; 4, 5. 10. 13) is to be interpreted as alluding to this temple; on this question see below, pp. 171 f.

In the three ordinary paragraphs devoted to the Theban temple (§§ 58. 122. 214) its fields are under the control of the High-priest of Amūn Raṁessenakhte, and in § 214, as here, the actual management was in the hands of the controller Praṁnakhte; the *pōsh*-entry 38, 38 (= 25, 26) gives the name as Praṁemḥab, probably by mistake; Praṁnakhte



THEBES, the funerary temple of Ramesses V on the West Bank (*continued*)

is named also in the *pōsh*-entries 83, 22; 85, 43, which correspond to others in § 214. Besides the apportioning domains under the nome administration of Hardai (§§ 59, 123, 218), and those of the lost § B (above, p. 124) under the administration of Ninsu, there were others, non-apportioning, under sundry officials: under the scribe of the granary of Pharaoh Setnakhte (§ 124), under the chief of the record-keepers Hekma'rē-nakhte (§§ 125, 217), and under the deputies Ptaḥemḥab (§ 215) and Pra'emḥab (§ 216), the latter possibly the source of the mistake mentioned above.

## § 59 (26, 1)† Apportioning [doma]in of this house (in) the Tract of Hardai.

See on §§ 58, 54; similarly in connexion with this same temple of Ramesses V, §§ 123, 218.

## § 60 (29, 1-3)\* [The Mansion of the King of Upper] and Lower Egypt Hekma'rē-setpenamūn in the House of Amūn:

[Doma]ins of this house under the authority of Neferabē who is dead:

[Do]main of this house under the authority of the deputy Iia.

If this temple of Ramesses IV, to which paragraphs are devoted in all sections except the first (§§ 60-3, 126, 219), is not that tentatively attributed to Ramesses V in the commentary above on § 58, it is presumably either the building of which remains were unearthed by Carnarvon and Carter (see *ibid.*) or else the unexcavated building immediately to the north of the temple of Amenhotpe, son of Hapu, and to the south of Medīnet Habu, of which traces were found some years ago by Robichon and Varille, see *Revue d'Égyptologie*, III, 99 ff. In the many *pōsh*-entries (e.g. 24, 16; 55, 33; 95, 40) the temple is named simply 'The Mansion of Hekma'rē-setpenamūn' without further addition. The deceased Neferabē, under whom stood the domains of this paragraph and the next, was presumably the mayor of Hardai discussed above, p. 51, with n. 5. The deputy Iia mentioned here, in *pōsh*-entries, and as himself a holder of land (24, 17; 28, 4; 42, 27) perhaps acted as deputy-mayor pending the appointment of a new one. A high official who had been in charge of fields of this temple was Penpmer, a former Overseer of the Treasury (§ 126). Minor agents employed were the controllers Dhutmosē (§§ 61, 126) and Amenemḥab (§ 219). On the prophet of the affiliated provincial Chapel of Mont mentioned in § 62 see the comments on § 63.

## § 61 (29, 13)\* Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Dhutmosē.

This domain was, like § 60, under the authority of the deceased Neferabē. The controller Dhutmosē named here and, under another chief, in § 126, is mentioned not only in *pōsh*-entries corresponding to these paragraphs (24, 8; 52, 33; 55, 34; 56, 41), but also as acting on behalf of the temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu (§ 127 and the *pōsh*-entries thereto, 57, 10; 63, 43), unless by any chance the man so acting was a different official of the same name.

## § 62 (29, 17-18)\* [Domain of] this [house] on the foundation of the Mansion of Pharaoh in the House of Amūn . . . . . the Chapel of Mont which is (in) the Village of Inroyshes.

This exceptional heading is fully discussed in Appendix A, 4, see above, pp. 117 f.

## § 63 (29, 24)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

For the term 'harvest-taxes' and for the form of the heading see pp. 24 f. Here the word 'his' evidently refers to the prophet of the chapel of Mont (§ 62) Penḥasi, who was mentioned in 29, 20.

## § 64 (29, 29-31)\* [The] Mansion of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usima'rē-miamūn in the House of Amūn:

Domain(s) of this house under the authority of the Despatch-writer of Pharaoh:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Merymā'e.

This famous temple of Ramesses III still standing at Medīnet Habu has many paragraphs devoted to it in Sections II (§§ 64-8), III (§§ 127-36, see too below on § 137) and IV (§§ 220-30) and some at least occurred in Section I, see above on § C. Only one paragraph in Text A (§ 175) deals with fields supplying herbage for its cattle, and in that text there is no reference to its white goats; however, Text B speaks of *khato*-land of Pharaoh as existing on four pieces of its herbage fields (18, 2; 19, 19; 21, 32; 22, 5) and on five fields (17, 32; 18, 19; 20, 18; 22, 14; 24, 31), with possibly two more where the name of the temple is altogether omitted (18, 22; 19, 25), supplying food for its white goats. In Text A one paragraph (§ 222) mentions fields under the authority of the *Setem*-priest which produced provender for Northern Oasis asses. In Text B many *khato*-lands are upon fields of this temple (e.g. 3, 7; 5, 18; 6, 15, 21, 29), apart from the specialized cases mentioned above.

The full name of the temple was 'The Mansion of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usima'rē-miamūn United with Eternity ( $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆑}} \overline{\text{𓆒}} \overline{\text{𓆓}} \overline{\text{𓆔}} \overline{\text{𓆕}} \overline{\text{𓆖}} \overline{\text{𓆗}} \overline{\text{𓆘}} \overline{\text{𓆙}} \overline{\text{𓆚}} \overline{\text{𓆛}} \overline{\text{𓆜}} \overline{\text{𓆝}} \overline{\text{𓆞}} \overline{\text{𓆟}} \overline{\text{𓆠}} \overline{\text{𓆡}} \overline{\text{𓆢}} \overline{\text{𓆣}} \overline{\text{𓆤}} \overline{\text{𓆥}} \overline{\text{𓆦}} \overline{\text{𓆧}} \overline{\text{𓆨}} \overline{\text{𓆩}} \overline{\text{𓆪}} \overline{\text{𓆫}} \overline{\text{𓆬}} \overline{\text{𓆭}} \overline{\text{𓆮}} \overline{\text{𓆯}} \overline{\text{𓆰}} \overline{\text{𓆱}} \overline{\text{𓆲}} \overline{\text{𓆳}} \overline{\text{𓆴}} \overline{\text{𓆵}} \overline{\text{𓆶}} \overline{\text{𓆷}} \overline{\text{𓆸}} \overline{\text{𓆹}} \overline{\text{𓆺}} \overline{\text{𓆻}} \overline{\text{𓆼}} \overline{\text{𓆽}} \overline{\text{𓆾}} \overline{\text{𓆿}} \overline{\text{𓇀}} \overline{\text{𓇁}} \overline{\text{𓇂}} \overline{\text{𓇃}} \overline{\text{𓇄}} \overline{\text{𓇅}} \overline{\text{𓇆}} \overline{\text{𓇇}} \overline{\text{𓇈}} \overline{\text{𓇉}} \overline{\text{𓇊}} \overline{\text{𓇋}} \overline{\text{𓇌}} \overline{\text{𓇍}} \overline{\text{𓇎}} \overline{\text{𓇏}} \overline{\text{𓇐}} \overline{\text{𓇑}} \overline{\text{𓇒}} \overline{\text{𓇓}} \overline{\text{𓇔}} \overline{\text{𓇕}} \overline{\text{𓇖}} \overline{\text{𓇗}} \overline{\text{𓇘}} \overline{\text{𓇙}} \overline{\text{𓇚}} \overline{\text{𓇛}} \overline{\text{𓇜}} \overline{\text{𓇝}} \overline{\text{𓇞}} \overline{\text{𓇟}} \overline{\text{𓇠}} \overline{\text{𓇡}} \overline{\text{𓇢}} \overline{\text{𓇣}} \overline{\text{𓇤}} \overline{\text{𓇥}} \overline{\text{𓇦}} \overline{\text{𓇧}} \overline{\text{𓇨}} \overline{\text{𓇩}} \overline{\text{𓇪}} \overline{\text{𓇫}} \overline{\text{𓇬}} \overline{\text{𓇭}} \overline{\text{𓇮}} \overline{\text{𓇯}} \overline{\text{𓇰}} \overline{\text{𓇱}} \overline{\text{𓇲}} \overline{\text{𓇳}} \overline{\text{𓇴}} \overline{\text{𓇵}} \overline{\text{𓇶}} \overline{\text{𓇷}} \overline{\text{𓇸}} \overline{\text{𓇹}} \overline{\text{𓇺}} \overline{\text{𓇻}} \overline{\text{𓇼}} \overline{\text{𓇽}} \overline{\text{𓇾}} \overline{\text{𓇿}} \overline{\text{𓈀}} \overline{\text{𓈁}} \overline{\text{𓈂}} \overline{\text{𓈃}} \overline{\text{𓈄}} \overline{\text{𓈅}} \overline{\text{𓈆}} \overline{\text{𓈇}} \overline{\text{𓈈}} \overline{\text{𓈉}} \overline{\text{𓈊}} \overline{\text{𓈋}} \overline{\text{𓈌}} \overline{\text{𓈍}} \overline{\text{𓈎}} \overline{\text{𓈏}} \overline{\text{𓈐}} \overline{\text{𓈑}} \overline{\text{𓈒}} \overline{\text{𓈓}} \overline{\text{𓈔}} \overline{\text{𓈕}} \overline{\text{𓈖}} \overline{\text{𓈗}} \overline{\text{𓈘}} \overline{\text{𓈙}} \overline{\text{𓈚}} \overline{\text{𓈛}} \overline{\text{𓈜}} \overline{\text{𓈝}} \overline{\text{𓈞}} \overline{\text{𓈟}} \overline{\text{𓈠}} \overline{\text{𓈡}} \overline{\text{𓈢}} \overline{\text{𓈣}} \overline{\text{𓈤}} \overline{\text{𓈥}} \overline{\text{𓈦}} \overline{\text{𓈧}} \overline{\text{𓈨}} \overline{\text{𓈩}} \overline{\text{𓈪}} \overline{\text{𓈫}} \overline{\text{𓈬}} \overline{\text{𓈭}} \overline{\text{𓈮}} \overline{\text{𓈯}} \overline{\text{𓈰}} \overline{\text{𓈱}} \overline{\text{𓈲}} \overline{\text{𓈳}} \overline{\text{𓈴}} \overline{\text{𓈵}} \overline{\text{𓈶}} \overline{\text{𓈷}} \overline{\text{𓈸}} \overline{\text{𓈹}} \overline{\text{𓈺}} \overline{\text{𓈻}} \overline{\text{𓈼}} \overline{\text{𓈽}} \overline{\text{𓈾}} \overline{\text{𓈿}} \overline{\text{𓉀}} \overline{\text{𓉁}} \overline{\text{𓉂}} \overline{\text{𓉃}} \overline{\text{𓉄}} \overline{\text{𓉅}} \overline{\text{𓉆}} \overline{\text{𓉇}} \overline{\text{𓉈}} \overline{\text{𓉉}} \overline{\text{𓉊}} \overline{\text{𓉋}} \overline{\text{𓉌}} \overline{\text{𓉍}} \overline{\text{𓉎}} \overline{\text{𓉏}} \overline{\text{𓉐}} \overline{\text{𓉑}} \overline{\text{𓉒}} \overline{\text{𓉓}} \overline{\text{𓉔}} \overline{\text{𓉕}} \overline{\text{𓉖}} \overline{\text{𓉗}} \overline{\text{𓉘}} \overline{\text{𓉙}} \overline{\text{𓉚}} \overline{\text{𓉛}} \overline{\text{𓉜}} \overline{\text{𓉝}} \overline{\text{𓉞}} \overline{\text{𓉟}} \overline{\text{𓉠}} \overline{\text{𓉡}} \overline{\text{𓉢}} \overline{\text{𓉣}} \overline{\text{𓉤}} \overline{\text{𓉥}} \overline{\text{𓉦}} \overline{\text{𓉧}} \overline{\text{𓉨}} \overline{\text{𓉩}} \overline{\text{𓉪}} \overline{\text{𓉫}} \overline{\text{𓉬}} \overline{\text{𓉭}} \overline{\text{𓉮}} \overline{\text{𓉯}} \overline{\text{𓉰}} \overline{\text{𓉱}} \overline{\text{𓉲}} \overline{\text{𓉳}} \overline{\text{𓉴}} \overline{\text{𓉵}} \overline{\text{𓉶}} \overline{\text{𓉷}} \overline{\text{𓉸}} \overline{\text{𓉹}} \overline{\text{𓉺}} \overline{\text{𓉻}} \overline{\text{𓉼}} \overline{\text{𓉽}} \overline{\text{𓉾}} \overline{\text{𓉿}} \overline{\text{𓊀}} \overline{\text{𓊁}} \overline{\text{𓊂}} \overline{\text{𓊃}} \overline{\text{𓊄}} \overline{\text{𓊅}} \overline{\text{𓊆}} \overline{\text{𓊇}} \overline{\text{𓊈}} \overline{\text{𓊉}} \overline{\text{𓊊}} \overline{\text{𓊋}} \overline{\text{𓊌}} \overline{\text{𓊍}} \overline{\text{𓊎}} \overline{\text{𓊏}} \overline{\text{𓊐}} \overline{\text{𓊑}} \overline{\text{𓊒}} \overline{\text{𓊓}} \overline{\text{𓊔}} \overline{\text{𓊕}} \overline{\text{𓊖}} \overline{\text{𓊗}} \overline{\text{𓊘}} \overline{\text{𓊙}} \overline{\text{𓊚}} \overline{\text{𓊛}} \overline{\text{𓊜}} \overline{\text{𓊝}} \overline{\text{𓊞}} \overline{\text{𓊟}} \overline{\text{𓊠}} \overline{\text{𓊡}} \overline{\text{𓊢}} \overline{\text{𓊣}} \overline{\text{𓊤}} \overline{\text{𓊥}} \overline{\text{𓊦}} \overline{\text{𓊧}} \overline{\text{𓊨}} \overline{\text{𓊩}} \overline{\text{𓊪}} \overline{\text{𓊫}} \overline{\text{𓊬}} \overline{\text{𓊭}} \overline{\text{𓊮}} \overline{\text{𓊯}} \overline{\text{𓊰}} \overline{\text{𓊱}} \overline{\text{𓊲}} \overline{\text{𓊳}} \overline{\text{𓊴}} \overline{\text{𓊵}} \overline{\text{𓊶}} \overline{\text{𓊷}} \overline{\text{𓊸}} \overline{\text{𓊹}} \overline{\text{𓊺}} \overline{\text{𓊻}} \overline{\text{𓊼}} \overline{\text{𓊽}} \overline{\text{𓊾}} \overline{\text{𓊿}} \overline{\text{𓋀}} \overline{\text{𓋁}} \overline{\text{𓋂}} \overline{\text{𓋃}} \overline{\text{𓋄}} \overline{\text{𓋅}} \overline{\text{𓋆}} \overline{\text{𓋇}} \overline{\text{𓋈}} \overline{\text{𓋉}} \overline{\text{𓋊}} \overline{\text{𓋋}} \overline{\text{𓋌}} \overline{\text{𓋍}} \overline{\text{𓋎}} \overline{\text{𓋏}} \overline{\text{𓋐}} \overline{\text{𓋑}} \overline{\text{𓋒}} \overline{\text{𓋓}} \overline{\text{𓋔}} \overline{\text{𓋕}} \overline{\text{𓋖}} \overline{\text{𓋗}} \overline{\text{𓋘}} \overline{\text{𓋙}} \overline{\text{𓋚}} \overline{\text{𓋛}} \overline{\text{𓋜}} \overline{\text{𓋝}} \overline{\text{𓋞}} \overline{\text{𓋟}} \overline{\text{𓋠}} \overline{\text{𓋡}} \overline{\text{𓋢}} \overline{\text{𓋣}} \overline{\text{𓋤}} \overline{\text{𓋥}} \overline{\text{𓋦}} \overline{\text{𓋧}} \overline{\text{𓋨}} \overline{\text{𓋩}} \overline{\text{𓋪}} \overline{\text{𓋫}} \overline{\text{𓋬}} \overline{\text{𓋭}} \overline{\text{𓋮}} \overline{\text{𓋯}} \overline{\text{𓋰}} \overline{\text{𓋱}} \overline{\text{𓋲}} \overline{\text{𓋳}} \overline{\text{𓋴}} \overline{\text{𓋵}} \overline{\text{𓋶}} \overline{\text{𓋷}} \overline{\text{𓋸}} \overline{\text{𓋹}} \overline{\text{𓋺}} \overline{\text{𓋻}} \overline{\text{𓋼}} \overline{\text{𓋽}} \overline{\text{𓋾}} \overline{\text{𓋿}} \overline{\text{𓌀}} \overline{\text{𓌁}} \overline{\text{𓌂}} \overline{\text{𓌃}} \overline{\text{𓌄}} \overline{\text{𓌅}} \overline{\text{𓌆}} \overline{\text{𓌇}} \overline{\text{𓌈}} \overline{\text{𓌉}} \overline{\text{𓌊}} \overline{\text{𓌋}} \overline{\text{𓌌}} \overline{\text{𓌍}} \overline{\text{𓌎}} \overline{\text{𓌏}} \overline{\text{𓌐}} \overline{\text{𓌑}} \overline{\text{𓌒}} \overline{\text{𓌓}} \overline{\text{𓌔}} \overline{\text{𓌕}} \overline{\text{𓌖}} \overline{\text{𓌗}} \overline{\text{𓌘}} \overline{\text{𓌙}} \overline{\text{𓌚}} \overline{\text{𓌛}} \overline{\text{𓌜}} \overline{\text{𓌝}} \overline{\text{𓌞}} \overline{\text{𓌟}} \overline{\text{𓌠}} \overline{\text{𓌡}} \overline{\text{𓌢}} \overline{\text{𓌣}} \overline{\text{𓌤}} \overline{\text{𓌥}} \overline{\text{𓌦}} \overline{\text{𓌧}} \overline{\text{𓌨}} \overline{\text{𓌩}} \overline{\text{𓌪}} \overline{\text{𓌫}} \overline{\text{𓌬}} \overline{\text{𓌭}} \overline{\text{𓌮}} \overline{\text{𓌯}} \overline{\text{𓌰}} \overline{\text{𓌱}} \overline{\text{𓌲}} \overline{\text{𓌳}} \overline{\text{𓌴}} \overline{\text{𓌵}} \overline{\text{𓌶}} \overline{\text{𓌷}} \overline{\text{𓌸}} \overline{\text{𓌹}} \overline{\text{𓌺}} \overline{\text{𓌻}} \overline{\text{𓌼}} \overline{\text{𓌽}} \overline{\text{𓌾}} \overline{\text{𓌿}} \overline{\text{𓍀}} \overline{\text{𓍁}} \overline{\text{𓍂}} \overline{\text{𓍃}} \overline{\text{𓍄}} \overline{\text{𓍅}} \overline{\text{𓍆}} \overline{\text{𓍇}} \overline{\text{𓍈}} \overline{\text{𓍉}} \overline{\text{𓍊}} \overline{\text{𓍋}} \overline{\text{𓍌}} \overline{\text{𓍍}} \overline{\text{𓍎}} \overline{\text{𓍏}} \overline{\text{𓍐}} \overline{\text{𓍑}} \overline{\text{𓍒}} \overline{\text{𓍓}} \overline{\text{𓍔}} \overline{\text{𓍕}} \overline{\text{𓍖}} \overline{\text{𓍗}} \overline{\text{𓍘}} \overline{\text{𓍙}} \overline{\text{𓍚}} \overline{\text{𓍛}} \overline{\text{𓍜}} \overline{\text{𓍝}} \overline{\text{𓍞}} \overline{\text{𓍟}} \overline{\text{𓍠}} \overline{\text{𓍡}} \overline{\text{𓍢}} \overline{\text{𓍣}} \overline{\text{𓍤}} \overline{\text{𓍥}} \overline{\text{𓍦}} \overline{\text{𓍧}} \overline{\text{𓍨}} \overline{\text{𓍩}} \overline{\text{𓍪}} \overline{\text{𓍫}} \overline{\text{𓍬}} \overline{\text{𓍭}} \overline{\text{𓍮}} \overline{\text{𓍯}} \overline{\text{𓍰}} \overline{\text{𓍱}} \overline{\text{𓍲}} \overline{\text{𓍳}} \overline{\text{𓍴}} \overline{\text{𓍵}} \overline{\text{𓍶}} \overline{\text{𓍷}} \overline{\text{𓍸}} \overline{\text{𓍹}} \overline{\text{𓍺}} \overline{\text{𓍻}} \overline{\text{𓍼}} \overline{\text{𓍽}} \overline{\text{𓍾}} \overline{\text{𓍿}} \overline{\text{𓎀}} \overline{\text{𓎁}} \overline{\text{𓎂}} \overline{\text{𓎃}} \overline{\text{𓎄}} \overline{\text{𓎅}} \overline{\text{𓎆}} \overline{\text{𓎇}} \overline{\text{𓎈}} \overline{\text{𓎉}} \overline{\text{𓎊}} \overline{\text{𓎋}} \overline{\text{𓎌}} \overline{\text{𓎍}} \overline{\text{𓎎}} \overline{\text{𓎏}} \overline{\text{𓎐}} \overline{\text{𓎑}} \overline{\text{𓎒}} \overline{\text{𓎓}} \overline{\text{𓎔}} \overline{\text{𓎕}} \overline{\text{𓎖}} \overline{\text{𓎗}} \overline{\text{𓎘}} \overline{\text{𓎙}} \overline{\text{𓎚}} \overline{\text{𓎛}} \overline{\text{𓎜}} \overline{\text{𓎝}} \overline{\text{𓎞}} \overline{\text{𓎟}} \overline{\text{𓎠}} \overline{\text{𓎡}} \overline{\text{𓎢}} \overline{\text{𓎣}} \overline{\text{𓎤}} \overline{\text{𓎥}} \overline{\text{𓎦}} \overline{\text{𓎧}} \overline{\text{𓎨}} \overline{\text{𓎩}} \overline{\text{𓎪}} \overline{\text{𓎫}} \overline{\text{𓎬}} \overline{\text{𓎭}} \overline{\text{𓎮}} \overline{\text{𓎯}} \overline{\text{𓎰}} \overline{\text{𓎱}} \overline{\text{𓎲}} \overline{\text{𓎳}} \overline{\text{𓎴}} \overline{\text{𓎵}} \overline{\text{𓎶}} \overline{\text{𓎷}} \overline{\text{𓎸}} \overline{\text{𓎹}} \overline{\text{𓎺}} \overline{\text{𓎻}} \overline{\text{𓎼}} \overline{\text{𓎽}} \overline{\text{𓎾}} \overline{\text{𓎿}} \overline{\text{𓏀}} \overline{\text{𓏁}} \overline{\text{𓏂}} \overline{\text{𓏃}} \overline{\text{𓏄}} \overline{\text{𓏅}} \overline{\text{𓏆}} \overline{\text{𓏇}} \overline{\text{𓏈}} \overline{\text{𓏉}} \overline{\text{𓏊}} \overline{\text{𓏋}} \overline{\text{𓏌}} \overline{\text{𓏍}} \overline{\text{𓏎}} \overline{\text{𓏏}} \overline{\text{𓏐}} \overline{\text{𓏑}} \overline{\text{𓏒}} \overline{\text{𓏓}} \overline{\text{𓏔}} \overline{\text{𓏕}} \overline{\text{𓏖}} \overline{\text{𓏗}} \overline{\text{𓏘}} \overline{\text{𓏙}} \overline{\text{𓏚}} \overline{\text{𓏛}} \overline{\text{𓏜}} \overline{\text{𓏝}} \overline{\text{𓏞}} \overline{\text{𓏟}} \overline{\text{𓏠}} \overline{\text{𓏡}} \overline{\text{𓏢}} \overline{\text{𓏣}} \overline{\text{𓏤}} \overline{\text{𓏥}} \overline{\text{𓏦}} \overline{\text{𓏧}} \overline{\text{𓏨}} \overline{\text{𓏩}} \overline{\text{𓏪}} \overline{\text{𓏫}} \overline{\text{𓏬}} \overline{\text{𓏭}} \overline{\text{𓏮}} \overline{\text{𓏯}} \overline{\text{𓏰}} \overline{\text{𓏱}} \overline{\text{𓏲}} \overline{\text{𓏳}} \overline{\text{𓏴}} \overline{\text{𓏵}} \overline{\text{𓏶}} \overline{\text{𓏷}} \overline{\text{𓏸}} \overline{\text{𓏹}} \overline{\text{𓏺}} \overline{\text{𓏻}} \overline{\text{𓏼}} \overline{\text{𓏽}} \overline{\text{𓏾}} \overline{\text{𓏿}} \overline{\text{𓐀}} \overline{\text{𓐁}} \overline{\text{𓐂}} \overline{\text{𓐃}} \overline{\text{𓐄}} \overline{\text{𓐅}} \overline{\text{𓐆}} \overline{\text{𓐇}} \overline{\text{𓐈}} \overline{\text{𓐉}} \overline{\text{𓐊}} \overline{\text{𓐋}} \overline{\text{𓐌}} \overline{\text{𓐍}} \overline{\text{𓐎}} \overline{\text{𓐏}} \overline{\text{𓐐}} \overline{\text{𓐑}} \overline{\text{𓐒}} \overline{\text{𓐓}} \overline{\text{𓐔}} \overline{\text{𓐕}} \overline{\text{𓐖}} \overline{\text{𓐗}} \overline{\text{𓐘}} \overline{\text{𓐙}} \overline{\text{𓐚}} \overline{\text{𓐛}} \overline{\text{𓐜}} \overline{\text{𓐝}} \overline{\text{𓐞}} \overline{\text{𓐟}} \overline{\text{𓐠}} \overline{\text{𓐡}} \overline{\text{𓐢}} \overline{\text{𓐣}} \overline{\text{𓐤}} \overline{\text{𓐥}} \overline{\text{𓐦}} \overline{\text{𓐧}} \overline{\text{𓐨}} \overline{\text{𓐩}} \overline{\text{𓐪}} \overline{\text{𓐫}} \overline{\text{𓐬}} \overline{\text{𓐭}} \overline{\text{𓐮}} \overline{\text{𓐯}} \overline{\text{𓐰}} \overline{\text{𓐱}} \overline{\text{𓐲}} \overline{\text{𓐳}} \overline{\text{𓐴}} \overline{\text{𓐵}} \overline{\text{𓐶}} \overline{\text{𓐷}} \overline{\text{𓐸}} \overline{\text{𓐹}} \overline{\text{𓐺}} \overline{\text{𓐻}} \overline{\text{𓐼}} \overline{\text{𓐽}} \overline{\text{𓐾}} \overline{\text{𓐿}} \overline{\text{𓑀}} \overline{\text{𓑁}} \overline{\text{𓑂}} \overline{\text{𓑃}} \overline{\text{𓑄}} \overline{\text{𓑅}} \overline{\text{𓑆}} \overline{\text{𓑇}} \overline{\text{𓑈}} \overline{\text{𓑉}} \overline{\text{𓑊}} \overline{\text{𓑋}} \overline{\text{𓑌}} \overline{\text{𓑍}} \overline{\text{𓑎}} \overline{\text{𓑏}} \overline{\text{𓑐}} \overline{\text{𓑑}} \overline{\text{𓑒}} \overline{\text{𓑓}} \overline{\text{𓑔}} \overline{\text{𓑕}} \overline{\text{𓑖}} \overline{\text{𓑗}} \overline{\text{𓑘}} \overline{\text{𓑙}} \overline{\text{𓑚}} \overline{\text{𓑛}} \overline{\text{𓑜}} \overline{\text{𓑝}} \overline{\text{𓑞}} \overline{\text{𓑟}} \overline{\text{𓑠}} \overline{\text{𓑡}} \overline{\text{𓑢}} \overline{\text{𓑣}} \overline{\text{𓑤}} \overline{\text{𓑥}} \overline{\text{𓑦}} \overline{\text{𓑧}} \overline{\text{𓑨}} \overline{\text{𓑩}} \overline{\text{𓑪}} \overline{\text{𓑫}} \overline{\text{𓑬}} \overline{\text{𓑭}} \overline{\text{𓑮}} \overline{\text{𓑯}} \overline{\text{𓑰}} \overline{\text{𓑱}} \overline{\text{𓑲}} \overline{\text{𓑳}} \overline{\text{𓑴}} \overline{\text{𓑵}} \overline{\text{𓑶}} \overline{\text{𓑷}} \overline{\text{𓑸}} \overline{\text{𓑹}} \overline{\text{𓑺}} \overline{\text{𓑻}} \overline{\text{𓑼}} \overline{\text{𓑽}} \overline{\text{𓑾}} \overline{\text{𓑿}} \overline{\text{𓒀}} \overline{\text{𓒁}} \overline{\text{𓒂}} \overline{\text{𓒃}} \overline{\text{𓒄}} \overline{\text{𓒅}} \overline{\text{𓒆}} \overline{\text{𓒇}} \overline{\text{𓒈}} \overline{\text{𓒉}} \overline{\text{𓒊}} \overline{\text{𓒋}} \overline{\text{𓒌}} \overline{\text{𓒍}} \overline{\text{𓒎}} \overline{\text{𓒏}} \overline{\text{𓒐}} \overline{\text{𓒑}} \overline{\text{𓒒}} \overline{\text{𓒓}} \overline{\text{𓒔}} \overline{\text{𓒕}} \overline{\text{𓒖}} \overline{\text{𓒗}} \overline{\text{𓒘}} \overline{\text{𓒙}} \overline{\text{𓒚}} \overline{\text{𓒛}} \overline{\text{𓒜}} \overline{\text{𓒝}} \overline{\text{𓒞}} \overline{\text{𓒟}} \overline{\text{𓒠}} \overline{\text{𓒡}} \overline{\text{𓒢}} \overline{\text{𓒣}} \overline{\text{𓒤}} \overline{\text{𓒥}} \overline{\text{𓒦}} \overline{\text{𓒧}} \overline{\text{𓒨}} \overline{\text{𓒩}} \overline{\text{𓒪}} \overline{\text{𓒫}} \overline{\text{𓒬}} \overline{\text{𓒭}} \overline{\text{𓒮}} \overline{\text{𓒯}} \overline{\text{𓒰}} \overline{\text{𓒱}} \overline{\text{𓒲}} \overline{\text{𓒳}} \overline{\text{𓒴}} \overline{\text{𓒵}} \overline{\text{𓒶}} \overline{\text{𓒷}} \overline{\text{𓒸}} \overline{\text{𓒹}} \overline{\text{𓒺}} \overline{\text{𓒻}} \overline{\text{𓒼}} \overline{\text{𓒽}} \overline{\text{𓒾}} \overline{\text{𓒿}} \overline{\text{𓓀}} \overline{\text{𓓁}} \overline{\text{𓓂}} \overline{\text{𓓃}} \overline{\text{𓓄}} \overline{\text{𓓅}} \overline{\text{𓓆}} \overline{\text{𓓇}} \overline{\text{𓓈}} \overline{\text{𓓉}} \overline{\text{𓓊}} \overline{\text{𓓋}} \overline{\text{𓓌}} \overline{\text{𓓍}} \overline{\text{𓓎}} \overline{\text{𓓏}} \overline{\text{𓓐}} \overline{\text{𓓑}} \overline{\text{𓓒}} \overline{\text{𓓓}} \overline{\text{𓓔}} \overline{\text{𓓕}} \overline{\text{𓓖}} \overline{\text{𓓗}} \overline{\text{𓓘}} \overline{\text{𓓙}} \overline{\text{𓓚}} \overline{\text{𓓛}} \overline{\text{𓓜}} \overline{\text{𓓝}} \overline{\text{𓓞}} \overline{\text{𓓟}} \overline{\text{𓓠}} \overline{\text{𓓡}} \overline{\text{𓓢}} \overline{\text{𓓣}} \overline{\text{𓓤}} \overline{\text{𓓥}} \overline{\text{𓓦}} \overline{\text{𓓧}} \overline{\text{𓓨}} \overline{\text{𓓩}} \overline{\text{𓓪}} \overline{\text{𓓫}} \overline{\text{𓓬}} \overline{\text{𓓭}} \overline{\text{𓓮}} \overline{\text{𓓯}} \overline{\text{𓓰}} \overline{\text{𓓱}} \overline{\text{𓓲}} \overline{\text{𓓳}} \overline{\text{𓓴}} \overline{\text{𓓵}} \overline{\text{𓓶}} \overline{\text{𓓷}} \overline{\text{𓓸}} \overline{\text{𓓹}} \overline{\text{𓓺}} \overline{\text{𓓻}} \overline{\text{𓓼}} \overline{\text{𓓽}} \overline{\text{𓓾}} \overline{\text{𓓿}} \overline{\text{𓔀}} \overline{\text{𓔁}} \overline{\text{𓔂}} \overline{\text{𓔃}} \overline{\text{𓔄}} \overline{\text{𓔅}} \overline{\text{𓔆}} \overline{\text{𓔇}} \overline{\text{𓔈}} \overline{\text{𓔉}} \overline{\text{𓔊}} \overline{\text{𓔋}} \overline{\text{𓔌}} \overline{\text{𓔍}} \overline{\text{𓔎}} \overline{\text{𓔏}} \overline{\text{𓔐}} \overline{\text{𓔑}} \overline{\text{𓔒}} \overline{\text{𓔓}} \overline{\text{𓔔}} \overline{\text{𓔕}} \overline{\text{𓔖}} \overline{\text{𓔗}} \overline{\text{𓔘}} \overline{\text{𓔙}} \overline{\text{𓔚}} \overline{\text{𓔛}} \overline{\text{𓔜}} \overline{\text{𓔝}} \overline{\text{𓔞}} \overline{\text{𓔟}} \overline{\text{𓔠}} \overline{\text{𓔡}} \overline{\text{𓔢$



THEBES, the funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu (*continued*)

above in the heading is the most extended, and is found in two of the three other paragraph-headings where the name is not simply replaced by 'this house' (§§ 127, 220); in § 137 Usima'rē-miamūn is in all probability a simple slip of the pen for Usima'rē-setpenrē, i.e. Ramesses II; a very slight variation consists in the omission of  $\text{𓂏}$  'King of Upper and Lower Egypt', see § 175, some *pōsh*-entries (e.g. 21, 7; 33, 11, 15; 95, 4) and twice in Text B (19, 15; 21, 30). The further omission of 'in the House of Amūn' (*pōsh*-entries 19, 24; 20, 30) is extremely rare, doubtless because those words helped to emphasize the location at Thebes; on the other hand the suppression of the cartouche, leaving the name simply as 'The Mansion in the House of Amūn', is common in *pōsh*-entries (e.g. 28, 21, 25; 37, 32, 35), and constant in Text B except in the two instances mentioned above (e.g. 3, 7; 5, 18; 6, 15, 21). In the Commentary to Text B (below, pp. 167 f.) there will be suggested the possibility that 'House of Amūn (on) the West of Thebes' (B 21, 18), like 'The Mansion (on) the West of Thebes' (B 3, 23; 4, 3; 16, 1), might be yet another way of referring to Medīnet Habu, but this guess must be regarded as no more than such. A still more drastic contraction, reducing the name to  $\text{𓂏}$  'The Mansion' without further addition, has been proved by Černý in many external sources, see *JEA*, xxvi, 127 ff., and is found also in a few *pōsh*-entries of Text A, namely 45, 28; 55, 31; 87, 4, 32; 93, 15, though there the application is aided by a qualification containing the word *rmny*.

The high officials in charge of domains of the temple are (a) the Despatch-writer of Pharaoh (§ 64), (b) the Major-domo (§ 66), who may be identical with (c) the Steward Usima'rēnakhte of §§ 131, 223 (see on § 52 above), (d) the *Setem*-priest (§§ 127, 220), (e) the steward and overseer of the granary Kha'emwēse (§ 129; whether one or two persons are here meant has been discussed under § 52), (f) the overseer of the granary Amennakhte (§ 229), (g) the Steward Pēl (§ 226, see too on § 52), two former overseers of cattle (h) Hōri (§ 135) and (i) the deceased Ra'mosē (§ 136), and lastly (j) the overseer of cattle Ra'messenakhte (§ 230), who appears to have belonged properly to the Karnak temple (see on § 51). All the minor officials mentioned in actual or virtual sub-sub-headings bear the title controller (*rwḏw*), and their names, together with references to the higher officials to whom they were attached, are as follows: Amenemuia (§ 223, c); Amenhotpe (§ 128, d); Inwau (§ 227, superior perhaps g); Ashaemhab (§ 224, c); Bekenwerner (§ 129, e); Pnakhtaperti (?) (§ 130, e); Merōn (§ 67, b; § 132, c); Merymā'e (§ 64, a; 221, d); Meryrē (§ 220, d); Sennūfe (§ 225, c); Set(hi)wenmaf (§ 66, b; § 131, c); Ta (§ 65, a); Dhutmosē (§ 127, d). In conclusion, the apportioning paragraphs where the administrative authority appears to have been that of a nome-centre are §§ 68, 134, 228 (Hardai); § 133, naming 'Water of Prē', see above, p. 40, n. 1, is a non-apportioning paragraph.

The Despatch-writer of Pharaoh who is the official in control of the fields enumerated in § 64 is anonymous here, in § 137, where, if my emendation (see above) is sound, he is in control of fields belonging to the Ramesseum, and in 36, 41, a *pōsh*-entry of Type C. It is unlikely that he was identical with either of the two persons named elsewhere in Text A as bearing the analogous title 'scribe of the despatch-office of Pharaoh', namely (1) 'Osēt, who is a holder of land in 16, 18 (cf. 15, 8), in charge of fields belonging to a Tabernacle of Ramesses III in § 142 and in charge of donated lands in 61, 38; (2) Ra'mosē, in charge of donated lands 42, 7 (cf. 52, 51); see too a third possibly named [Ra'messe]nakhte in B 4, 3. The controller Merymā'e, likewise connected with Medīnet Habu in § 221, but there as subordinate of the *Setem*-priest, is mentioned nowhere else except in the *pōsh*-entries corresponding to entries in these two paragraphs, namely 37, 33; 99, 9.

## § 65 (29, 35)\* Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Ta.

This paragraph is dependent, not only on the heading, but also on the sub-heading of § 64. The controller Ta is not named elsewhere.

## § 66 (29, 38-9)\* Domains of this house under the authority of the Major-domo:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Set(hi)wenmaf.

It has been discussed under § 52 whether this anonymous personage may not be identical with the Usima'rēnakhte elsewhere described as 'steward' ( $\text{𓂏}$  *imy-r pr*); to what was there said about the title  $\text{𓂏}$  *ri n pr* it may now be added that it occurs only at the end of the Ramesside period, see *Wb.* 1, 514, 7. The controller Seth(hi)-wenmaf is a subordinate of Usima'rēnakhte in § 131; otherwise allusion to him is made only in the *pōsh*-entries corresponding to entries in the two paragraphs, namely 28, 22, 26; 48, 42.

## § 67 (30, 10)\* Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Merōn.

This colleague of Set(hi)wenmaf under the Major-domo is also his colleague under the Steward Usima'rēnakhte in § 132, strongly suggesting that the two titles may be equivalent in sense, see on § 52. Elsewhere only in *pōsh*-entries referring to these paragraphs, namely 37, 36; 38, 12; 56, 31; 59, 30; 70, 8.

## § 68 (30, 16)† Apportioning domain (of this house) (in) the [Tract of] Hardai.

See under § 64, at the end of the penultimate paragraph.



THEBES (*continued*)

§ 69 (32, 36-7)† The Mansion of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usima'rēc-setpenrēc in the House of Amūn:

Apportioning domain of this house in the Tract of Hardai.

The Ramesseum, the famous funerary temple of Ramesses II on the West side of Thebes, of which considerable portions still remain, came to our notice already in § D. Fields were there found belonging to it and subject to administration from the town of Ninsu (Heracleopolis), just as here and in § 231 from the town of Hardai (Cynopolis). In all four sections herbage-paragraphs occur in connexion with it (§§ 32, 106, 176, 243) and in Section III one paragraph enumerates fields providing food for its white goats (§ 188). In § 137, after ten paragraphs devoted to Ramesses III's temple at Medīnet Habu, all referring to it as 'this house' except the first (§ 127), this naturally giving the full name, we find precisely the same temple-name, with a sub-heading mentioning the Despatch-writer of Pharaoh, cf. § 64 (Medīnet Habu). The following paragraph (§ 138), referring to the nome-administration of Hardai, would, if attributed to Medīnet Habu, duplicate § 134, the fourth paragraph farther back. That fact, and the substitution in § 137 of the full name in place of 'this house', makes it wellnigh certain that there -miamūn has been wrongly written for -setpenrēc, so that the Ramesseum must really be meant. In that case § 138 would fall into line with the present paragraph and with § 231, and the unlikely omission of the Ramesseum in Section III would be repaired. Against this conjecture the only serious reason that could be alleged is that § 137 would be the only non-apportioning paragraph belonging to the Ramesseum. The paragraph contains only a single plot of 5 arouras, and the fact that in our papyrus the Ramesseum owns no more than that amount of self-cultivated fields is worthy of remark. Some colour is thereby lent to the theory (see above, pp. 11 f.) that Ramesses III, despite his regard for his great namesake of Dyn. XIX, annexed to himself a considerable number of the latter's fields; failing some such annexation, it is difficult to see from what source Ramesses III could have obtained the vast estates which in the Harris papyrus (11, 7) he claims to have given to Amūn, and the vast number of persons whom he devoted (10, 3) to his own funerary foundation. Perhaps Ramesses III merely transferred to himself the main administration of the Ramesseum and the lands managed by that administration, leaving to Ramesses II and to other earlier kings similarly despoiled those fields which were tenanted by private holders. That at the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty the Ramesseum was still a living, though perhaps moribund, institution is proved by reference to a priest of it in *P. Brit. Mus. 10068*, vs. 3, 19 = Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, Pl. 14; but another reference in the same papyrus (vs. 2, 15 = Peet, *loc. cit.*) shows that a house belonging to the Ramesseum was under the control of the *Setem*-priest, whose association with Medīnet Habu will be discussed under § 127.

For the reasons above mentioned the only official named in the Wilbour as in authority over a domain belonging to the Ramesseum is the Despatch-writer of Pharaoh (§ 137). The *pōsh*-references to this temple are few in number (16, 44; 30, 1; 93, 24, 29) and the only peculiarity they present is the probable omission of 'in the House of Amūn' in the first two.

§ 70 (32, 42)† The House of Haremhab in the House of Amūn.

Since 'House' (𓂏𓂏 *pr*) rather than 'Mansion' (𓂏𓂏𓂏 *hwt*) is here used, this temple is probably that of which the remains are preserved at Karnak near the IXth Pylon (see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, 11, 59) rather than the funerary temple on the West Bank of which traces were discovered by Hölscher, see his *Excavations at Ancient Thebes, 1930-1*, 47 ff. See the same heading below, § 233, and herbage-paragraphs §§ 177, 244. The three *pōsh*-entries (76, 34; 78, 49; 94, 26) give the name in full, and so do two references (B 14, 10, 19) in Text B.

## FOUR INTERCALATED PARAGRAPHS

§ 71 (33, 1)\* The god of Usima'rēc-miamūn under the authority of the chief of *thr*-warriors [Ramesse]nebnūfe.

This and the three closely similar paragraphs that follow it interrupt the retrograde chronological sequence of Theban temples; for the position here see on § 235. The problem of the foundation of Ramesses III here meant is discussed on pp. 17, 86 f., and the title and personality of the foreign military officer here in authority are dealt with on p. 81.

§ 72 (33, 5)\* The god of Usima'rēc-miamūn under the authority of the captain of the shield-bearers of [Phara]oh Eḥowtenūfe.

See on § 71. The officer here named is mentioned in 49, 7-8 as in charge of some donated land; for his title see pp. 81 f.

§ 73 (33, 8)\* The god of Usima'rēc-miamūn under the authority of the lieutenant-commander(?) Phamnūte.

See on § 71. The ambiguity of the title *idnw*, properly 'deputy', is discussed on pp. 20, 84, but §§ 71-2 (though not § 74) suggest that Phamnūte here was of military rank. He is mentioned again in what is given as a *hōnk*-entry (31, 8), though appearing as the equivalent of a *pōsh*-entry, see pp. 86 f.



INTERCALATED PARAGRAPHS (*continued*)

§ 74 (33, 12)\* The god of Usima'rē-miamūn under the authority of the scribe of the Treasury [Pen]twēre.

See on § 71. Two *hōnk*-entries refer to fields in charge of this man (28, 43; 30, 25), the second of them being apparently the equivalent of a *pōsh*-entry, see on § 73. For the title see p. 83.

THEBES, Royal funerary temples on the West Bank (*resumed*)

§ 75 (33, 16)† The Mansion of the King 'Akheperen(?)rē in the House of Amūn.

If the writing of the original is correct, this refers to a funerary temple of Tuthmosis II on the West bank. However, as the writing  $\Delta$  for  $\Delta$  in the title *kr* 'shield-bearer' shows (see p. 81), a horizontal stroke below one of squarish shape cannot be trusted to be a genuine —, and consequently the apparent  $\mathfrak{A}$  might well be for  $\mathfrak{B}$ . In § 139, doubtless referring to the same temple, there is no stroke below  $\mathfrak{A}$ , which is followed by dashes. Thus possibly the royal name is incomplete, and we have the choice of Tuthmosis I ('Akheperkarē), Tuthmosis II ('Akheperenrē) and Amenophis II ('Akheprurē). The first of these may be ruled out, since so conspicuous a sign as  $\sqcup$  would hardly disappear completely, though see below. The alternatives Tuthmosis II and Amenophis II have about equal chances. The lesser importance of Tuthmosis II is counterbalanced by — being the apparent reading in this paragraph (see above), and the site of a funerary temple of his has been found, see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, II, 161; Robichon and Varille in *Rev. d'Égyptologie*, III, 99. The funerary temple of Amenophis II (name written with  $\mathfrak{A}$ ) has likewise been found, see Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, pp. 4–6; Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, II, 149, and is also mentioned in texts, see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, IV, 53. In any case this temple has to be considered in conjunction with two similar occurrences in the Tomb-robberies papyri (end of Dyn. XX), in one of which the temple (a) still possesses a staff of officials and dependents and the other (b) a priest of its own, see Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, Pls. 6, 19: (a) *P. Brit. Mus.* 10054, rt. 3, 3, written  $\odot \sqcup \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{B}$ ; (b) *P. Brit. Mus.* 10053, rt. 6, 16, written  $\odot \sqcup \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{B}$ . Both names are peculiar and defective; by the latter Tuthmosis I appears to be intended.

## HELIOPOLIS

§ 76 (33, 19–20)† The Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of [Rē]:

Apportioning domain of this house in the Tract of [Har]dai.

This temple of Ramesses II occurs below in §§ 145, 236, its fields connected, as here, with the nome-administration of Cynopolis; in Section III these fields are much more numerous, and in Section IV even more so. There is a herbage-paragraph in § 180. In the many *pōsh*-entries the name is usually complete as here, e.g. 49, 34; 74, 33; a few times, however, the King's name is omitted, leaving simply 'The Mansion in the House of Rē', see 50, 17; 64, 10, 24, 42; 72, 23; also B 7, 17; 11, 24; 22, 17; in a single entry (101, 6) 'House of Rē' alone appears to refer to this temple, not as we should expect, to the great temple of Rē-Harakhti, see above on § E. Outside our papyrus we once find a fuller designation; a certain Ptaḥmay, mentioned on a slab from Kāntīr in the eastern Delta (*Ann. Serv.*, xxx, 38), bears the title 'steward in the Mansion of Millions of Years of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Rē'. This is apparently the only external reference to our temple, though Harris, 31, 3; 32, a, 7 names one the name of which differs only in the substitution of the *nomen* of Ramesses III for that of Ramesses II. There seems no serious reason for doubting that it was situated in Heliopolis itself.

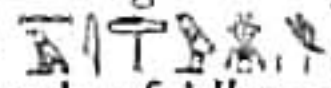
§ 77 (34, 1–2)\* Those of the Mansion of Ra'messe-ḥek-Ōn in the House of Rē north of Ōn:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Nebwedjfa.

This temple of Ramesses III, or colony clustering round a temple, occurs as a paragraph-heading only here in the Wilbour papyrus, but there are two *pōsh*-entries (24, 22; 26, 4) of which the first is defective, but requires to be restored like the second, where 'of Ra'messe-ḥek-Ōn' is omitted. The name, displaying prefixed *Ny* Na- 'those of', for which there are many analogies (see Spiegelberg, *Sphinx*, VI, 86; also below, § 89), is written almost exactly as here in Harris, 31, 5; 32, a, 8, but in 29, 8 'the Mansion' is expanded into 'the Mansion of Millions of Years'. There can be little doubt that the site in question is Tell el-Yahūdīyah, 19 km. north of Heliopolis, as first proposed by Naville (*Mound of the Jew*, p. 12), whose excavations together with Griffith revealed important remains from the reign of Ramesses III. In the Golénischeff Onomasticon (5, 9)  $\mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{y} \mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{i} \mathfrak{h} \mathfrak{w} \mathfrak{t}$  occurs as a town immediately after  $\mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{N}$  'Ōn of Rē', i.e. Heliopolis, and this occurrence, in conjunction with the similar abbreviation in the two *pōsh*-entries mentioned above, goes far to confirm Griffith's conjecture. The same town is named also in the demotic story of Petubastis (*P. Spieg.* 4, 10–12, on p. 19 of Spiegelberg's edition), where, however, the editor has failed to recognize it, taking the twice written *nt* as a dittograph; the passage narrates how the people of Tanis (*nt Tene*), the people of Mendes (*nt Pr-Bntwtw*), the people of Na-t-ḥō (*nt Nt-t-ḥwt* written with  $\mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{h} \mathfrak{w} \mathfrak{t}$ ) and the people of Seben-nytus (*nt Tbn-nt*) marched to the battlefield to protect the prince 'Ankhḥōr.



HELIOPOLIS (*continued*)

The new evidence giving special prominence to the abbreviation, and also emphasizing the importance of the town in later times, raises the question whether this may not be the town of Nathō mentioned by Herodotus and other writers. The suggestion emanates from Erman, who recorded it upon the slip dealing with the Onomasticon reference which he made for the Berlin Dictionary. There can be no doubt that this suggestion agrees very well with the ascertained vocalization Na-t-hō, and Brugsch's old etymology (*Dict. géogr.*, 91) from , has never been supported by any serious evidence—indeed I have not succeeded in finding any example of *idhw* preceded by the plural article, much less any such designation referring to a town. It is true that for Herodotus (II, 165) Nathō is a nome subdivided into two, cf. his expression *Nathō τὸ ἥμισυ*, not a town, but later evidence reveals the existence of a town of that name. The difficulty is that this later evidence (Coptic *scalae* and two lists of bishoprics, see H. Munier in *Bull. Soc. d'arch. Copte*, v, 234; Id., *Recueil des listes épiscopales*, 48, 16 = 56, 66; 63, 18) unanimously places Nathō at Šahragt (σαγραγτ), a few km. distant from Tell Mukdām, i.e. Leontopolis, see Kees in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.; one late and corrupt list of bishops actually gives the equation *ⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⲛⲁⲟⲩ* 'the town of Nathō' = Leontopolis = Bana and Šahragt. Little help is given by the traveller of the third century B.C. (*Papiri della Società Italiana*, v, No. 543) who, making his way from Pelusium to Canopus *via* Phacusa, Bubastus and Naucratis, mentions *Nathōw* in the third place after Bubastus, and likewise in the third before Naucratis; the intervening halting-places seem to be unknown. So far as the classical and later documents go, accordingly, there is no ground for placing Nathō at Tell el-Yahūdīyah, though it is curious that the latter town also later acquired the name Leontopolis (Naville, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–21). The discussion in Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte*, pp. 9–12, does not advance matters. There may well have been two towns bearing the name Na-t-hō, though only that near Heliopolis is actually attested. Mr. Sidney Smith, in an interesting letter, points out that the Ashurbanipal inscription mentions *two* different princes of Na-at-hu-u (Rm. cylinder col. I, ll. 92–7) and this might imply two different places of that name. He also adds that there is nothing in the nature of the dental used in the cuneiform which could point to the etymology *Ni-idhw* rather than *Ni-ti-hwt*; Ranke (*Keilschriftliches Material*, 31, in *Abh. Berlin*, 1910) gives *Nathu* as the Assyrian spelling, and so misleads his readers in favour of the former etymology.

To sum up, the Ramesside evidence points strongly to Tell el-Yahūdīyah (Leontopolis) as the site of *Nathō*, or a *Nathō*, but what little later evidence we have connects the latter name with the more important Leontopolis near Tell Mukdām. For the Greek place-name *Nathō Ni-ti-hwt* seems an almost certain etymology, but we have no positive ground for thinking that the Nathō familiar to the Greeks was identical with the *Ni-ti-hwt* known to us from the Egyptian sources. The entire question is discussed also in my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, under No. 401 of the Onomasticon of Amenopē.

The controller Nebwedjfa, besides being named in the two *pōsh*-entries mentioned above, occurs also with the title 'cultivator' in a non-apportioning paragraph, see 34, 23; possibly the cultivator Nebwedjfa found in 37, 40 cultivating land on his own behalf was the same man. The name appears to have been a local one, see above, p. 85.

## § 78 (34, 21)\* The Tabernacle of Prē which is (in) the Castle of Meryrē.

For the cult-object—a statue in a shrine mounted on a portable boat—here translated 'tabernacle', lit. 'protected image', see pp. 16 f. and below under § 141. Since the other references to the Castle of Meryrē (26, 6; 34, 12; 40, 45; B 8, 6, 21; 23, 18) name it as a locality evidently belonging to the district covered by Section II, it is clear that this foundation is included among the Heliopolitan sanctuaries, not because it was situated at Heliopolis itself, but because, like the settlement at Tell el-Yahūdīyah (§ 77) and the House of the Nile-god Hapy (§ 238) it definitely belonged to the estate of Rē. This is confirmed by B 23, 18, where *khato*-lands of Pharaoh situated in this place are administered by a prophet of the House of Amūn in Pi-Ōn, this last presumably the name of a hitherto unknown place the name of which marks it as a dependency of Heliopolis: Pi-Ōn as a locality is also mentioned in B 8, 4. 13. 31; 9, 4. The occurrence of the Castle of Meryrē in § 5 of Text B (8, 6) creates difficulties with which I have tried to cope on p. 177.

## § 79 (34, 28–9)\* The Mansion of Menepthah-hotp(hi)māē in the House of Rē:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller P[henu].

Doubtless a temple built by Menepthah in Heliopolis itself; except in the *pōsh*-entries (28, 11; 31, 43. 47) corresponding to this paragraph, no other reference is made to this temple either in or outside the Wilbour papyrus.

P[henu], whose name is here restored from the *pōsh*-entries, is himself a holder of land in 28, 13. 31.

## MEMPHIS

## § 80 (34, 46–7)† The House of Pthah, the Great, South of His Wall, lord of 'Ankhtowē:

Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Hardai.

The position of this temple both here and in § 146 at the head of the Memphite series, indicates, in conjunction with the time-honoured titles of the god, that it was the principal and most ancient foundation of Pthah. So too it occurs, not only in *Harris*, 51, a, 7, but also in the general heading of that papyrus (1, 4–5), and implicitly in the heading of the Memphite section (51, a, 2), in these two last places exercising the same all-embracing function as is found



MEMPHIS, the House of Ptaḥ (*continued*)

with 'the House of Amūn', i.e. the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, at Karnak. Another example with the full titles is *P. Leyden 348*, vs. 7, 8, where the transport of a statue thither is recounted in a model letter. Whether 'Ankhtowē is a name of Memphis itself, or only of a quarter of the town, as often maintained, need not here be discussed; see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, 149; III, 146.

There are no *pōsh*-entries in connexion with either of these two very short paragraphs, but in Text B *khato*-lands are often mentioned as being 'on fields of the House of Ptaḥ' (e.g. B 4, 7; 6, 19; 7, 16), which appears to indicate that the temple in question had a good deal of land in this part of Egypt—always supposing that this abbreviation usually refers to the original temple of this capital; in point of fact in Text B (17, 27) one reference to 'House of Ptaḥ' seems to indicate the foundation of Ramesses II there. A herbage-paragraph (§ 182) gives the same titles to the god.

The present paragraph deals with lands administered from the nome-capital at Ḥardai. Personages connected with the temple are the prophet Khaṣemwēse in § 146, another prophet named Ḥarmosē in charge of *khato*-land in B § 58, the overseer of cattle Pkatja in A § 203 similarly employed, as were also the steward Raṣemuia in B § 24 and the controller Ḥaremḥab in B § 57.

## § 81 (35, 1)† [Great] Seat [of] Raṣmesse-miamūn in the House of Ptaḥ

See on § 3A, p. 125 above.

## § 82 (35, 22)† The Mansion of [Raṣ]messe-miamūn, Beloved like Ptaḥ.

Only one plot is assigned to this foundation of Ramesses II, to which no other reference occurs in the Wilbour papyrus or apparently elsewhere. There is no reason for thinking this temple identical with 'The Mansion of Raṣmesse-miamūn in the House of Ptaḥ' mentioned in § 149, any more than there is for identifying the Heliopolitan temple of Ramesses II, Beloved like Rē (§ 237) with that named simply as 'in the House of Rē' and immediately preceding in § 236.

§ 83 (35, 25)† The House of [Raṣ]messe-miamūn, [Repeater of *Sed*-] festivals in the House of Rē.

To the remarks made concerning this indubitably Memphite chapel on p. 13 it has only to be added that it occurs again without the final qualification in Section III (§ 151), but with it, though as here the word for Rē is a little uncertain, in Section IV (§ 248). See also § 189, 'Domain of white goats of the Mansions of Festival'. All four paragraphs are apportioning and very short.

LANDING-PLACES OF PHARAOH (see p. 18.) The Landing-places in Sections III (§§ 154–6) and IV (§§ 241–2) precede the Smaller Temples as here, but the one in Section I (§ 37) follows them.

## § 84 (35, 31)† The Landing-place of Pharaoh in Ḥardai.

The same heading below in §§ 154, 241. This landing-place is not mentioned in Text B. For Ḥardai (Cynopolis) see pp. 50 ff.

## § 85 (36, 27)† The Landing-place of Pharaoh (in) the Keep of 'Onayna.

Named also in § 155 and B 17, 10. In § 155 we have the variant 'under the authority of the Mayor of the Keep of 'Onayna'. For the 'Sunshade' in this place see § 101 and B § 47. As a place of measurement the locality occurs only in 40, 22, i.e. in Zone II. Its position relative to other places is indicated in § 101, see pp. 47 f.

## § 86 (36, 34)† Fields of Pharaoh (in) this domain.

The same heading occurs also in §§ 156, 242, as here in connexion with landing-places. See above, p. 18.

SMALLER TEMPLES, see Table I and pp. 47 ff.

## § 87 (37, 30)† The House of Osiris, lord of Abydos, the Great God, Ruler of Eternity.

Doubtless the original temple of Osiris at Abydos, the remains of which have been excavated by Petrie, see his *Abydos II*, together with the preliminary account in *Abydos I*. The same heading below, § 250. The *pōsh*-entries 29, 34; 30, 13 have 'The House of Osiris, lord of Abydos', while 80, 3 has simply 'The House of Osiris'. The same abbreviation in B 9, 2; 25, 6 more probably refers to the local temple named in B § 53. In the actual temple, and in external references to it, e.g. Louvre, C 12; *Harris*, 61, a, 5, 6, the titles accorded to the god are either not quite the same as here or else entirely absent.

## § 88 (37, 37)† The Mansion of King Menmaṣrē in Abydos.

This is the famous temple of Sethos I, described identically in § 234, and also, except for the omission of 'King', in the herbage-paragraph § 178. The fullest form is 'The Mansion of Millions of Years (called) The Heart of King Menmaṣrē is pleased in Abydos', see the Nauri decree *JEA*, XIII, 200 and Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, IV, 72. It is ex-



SMALLER TEMPLES (*continued*)

tremely curious that a herbage-paragraph naming the temple 'The Mansion The Heart of Menma'rē is pleased in Abydos' (§ 185) should occur in the same section as, and at no great distance from, § 178 mentioned above. The same name, but inserting 'King', is found in § 158 among the smaller temples of Section III, while an abbreviated writing appears to be 'The Mansion (𓂏𓂏𓂏 *hwt*) in Abydos', B 11, 4, perhaps also so to be emended in 7, 3. No *pōsh*-entries occur in connexion with any of these paragraphs, which are all apportioning.

## § 89 (37, 44)† [The House] of Thoth, Taking pleasure in Truth, in Na-Usima'rē-miamūn.

The town mentioned here, in the abnormally placed § 140, and in the *pōsh*-entry 73, 11, is named in *P. Amiens*, vs. 4, x+4 as being 'upon the river-bank of Khmūn', i.e. Hermopolis Magna, the modern El-Ashmūnēn. As I have pointed out in my commentary on the Amiens papyrus (*JEA*, xxvii, 55) a wine-jar mentions Na-Usima'rē-setpenrē, and it is possible this was the earlier name of the same town, Ramesses III having substituted his own *prenomen* for that of Ramesses II. The nearest point on the river from El-Ashmūnēn is exactly opposite Esh-Shēkh 'Ibādah, the later Antinopolis, and here are the remains of an important temple of Ramesses II, see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, iv\*, 175-7; *Ann. Serv.*, xl, 715 ff. No mention is made of Ramesses III at Esh-Shēkh 'Ibādah, but nevertheless this may have been the site of Na-Usima'rē-miamūn, the more so since 𓂏𓂏𓂏 H-wōr, which Sethe sought to place here, must be located at Hūr S-W. of Beni Ḥasan across the river. See too my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, Nos. 377B, 379.

## § 90 (38, 7)† The House of Thoth of P-Wadjoi.

The position of this temple a little way south of Tihna has been discussed on p. 54, with n. 2, where are enumerated various mentions occurring elsewhere both in and outside our papyrus. *Pōsh*-entries 33, 4; 42, 39. 43; 43, 15. *Khato*-lands on fields of this temple, B 10, 16; 17, 5, in the former of which the place-name is spelt with 𓂏𓂏 as in the Golénischeff Onomasticon.

## § 91 (38, 36)† The House of Bata, lord of Sakō, under the authority of the prophet Kanūfe.

This temple is named again in two other paragraphs (§§ 160. 268, cf. too § 269), in a single *pōsh*-entry, 25, 26, and in B 3, 4; 24, 11; it is thoroughly discussed, together with its town and its prophet, on pp. 49 ff. Sakō is probably El-Kēs, 15 km. south-east of Oxyrhynchus (El-Bahnasa) and is often mentioned as a place of measurement in Section IV, see Table II, No. 120. For the prophet Kanūfe see too Table III.

§ 92 (38, 40-1)\* The House of Seth, lord of Spermeru, under the authority of the prophet Huy:  
Domain of this house under his authority.

The localization of Spermeru somewhere between Oxyrhynchus and Heracleopolis is discussed on pp. 41 f.; the town, which clearly lay near the margin of the Western desert, is often mentioned in the lines of measurement of Section III, see Table II, No. 121, and also in Text B, e.g. 3, 9; 16, 23. The temple of its god Seth claims for itself §§ 92-3, 163-6, while his consort Nephthys had a chapel of her own founded by Ramesses II, see on § 94, and there was also a subsidiary shrine of Seth with the epithet 'lord of Wealth and Might' (§ 167), as well as a Sunshade (§ 169). Food for the white goats of the House of Seth, § 194. Of the infrequent *pōsh*-entries (cf. 50, 7; 74, 14) one (74, 21) omits the epithet 'lord of Spermeru', as is done also in one line of measurement of Section III that uses 'The temple (*hwt-ntr*) of Seth' as a point of orientation, see 63, 17 and p. 38; the same omission occurs in the title of the prophet Huy, 39, 3; 59, 19; 72, 24. As explained pp. 41 f., and more fully under § 28 above, what looks like a paragraph in Section I referring to the temple of Nephthys in Spermeru almost certainly belongs to Su, a celebrated cult-place of Seth much farther north.

Concerning the prophet Huy here mentioned as in control of a domain belonging to Seth of Spermeru full details will be found in Table III; he was probably the first prophet, since the second was Nata (*loc. cit.*; § 164). For the prophets of the House of Nephthys see on § 94. An 'overseer of cattle Ptakawty' attached to the House of Seth (§ 165) is himself a holder of land in 71, 44, where his name is defectively spelt. Text B mentions an unnamed mayor of Spermeru in charge of *khato*-lands of Pharaoh, § 15; so too § 202 below.

## § 93 (39, 1)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

## § 94 (39, 6)\* The House of Nephthys of Ra'messe-miamūn, which is in this house.

For this dependency of the temple of Seth of Spermeru, founded by Ramesses II, see again § 168; the very similar heading of § 28 is most probably to be referred to a Nephthys of the town of Su, see under § 28 in the Synopsis. For its prophets Merybarsē (1) and Penpmer see Table III; in the title of the former § 206 and of the latter B § 30, as also in the name of the ordinary priest Kamosē 47, 23 and the *pōsh*-entries 43, 28; 57, 6. 31; 62, 23, where other ordinary priests are mentioned, this chapel is named 'the House of Nephthys' without further qualification.



SMALLER TEMPLES, Spermeru (*continued*)

§ 95 (39, 11)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

'His' in this heading must surely refer to the prophet Merybarsē of 39, 14, though his name did not occur in § 94.

§ 96 (39, 15)\* The House of Amūn, Founder of the Earth, which is in Opē.

This temple is mentioned again in B § 43, where its prophet, doubtless identical with the 'cultivator' in A 39, 17, is named Manenūfe. The town or village of Opē, often mentioned in the lines of measurement and as a locality in Text B (3, 17; 4, 25; 17, 33), appears to have been situated on the border between Zones II and III, see pp. 48 f.

§ 97 (39, 29)\* [The House] of Amūn Tjayef, which is (in) the Village of Tjayef.

Two paragraphs (§§ 170-1) are devoted to this temple in Section III, and we may conjecture that, like the temple of § 96, it lay near the point of junction between Zones II and III, see pp. 47 ff. In Text B § 41, where its prophet Kēnyamūn is found in charge of *khato*-lands of Pharaoh, like the unnamed prophet in A § 207, the epithet of Amūn is given as Tjayna; for this variation see p. 36, at top.

§ 98 (39, 32)\* The House of Amūn of the Island, which is in The Houses of the God.

This last of three consecutive temples of Amūn is mentioned only here and in the corresponding *pōsh*-entries 25, 6; 35, 11-12. For its prophet Pra'emḥab see Table III.

§ 99 (39, 39)\* The House of Seth, lord of Pi-Wayna.

The town here mentioned occurs a number of times as a place of measurement in Section II, see Table II, No. 73; *khato*-lands in its neighbourhood A § 114; B 3, 6; 13, 9; 23, 26, where the final element of the name *-na* is abbreviated or suppressed. The position some distance to the north of Spermeru emerges, not only from the position here, but also from § 195, which deals with this temple's food for white goats. The prophet's name was Wennofre, see Table III, where is noted his identity with the prophet of Bast named in § 40 of Text B.

§ 100 (40, 5)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

I.e. under the authority of the prophet Wennofre mentioned in 39, 41.

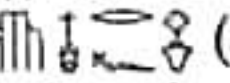
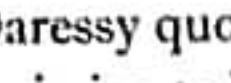
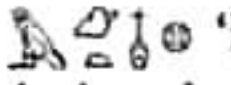

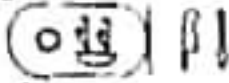
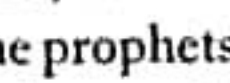
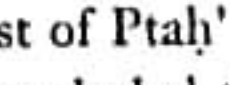
§ 101 (40, 21)\* The Sunshade of Rē-Ḥarakhti, which is in the Keep of (Onayna).

The missing place-name is supplied by the first line of measurement; for the landing-place, position, &c., see on § 85. A prophet of this Sunshade was named Karo, see B § 47.

§ 102 (40, 28)\* The House of Thoēris in . . . . . Temē.

That this house lay in the region embraced by Section II is probable, since 43, 7 refers to measurement made 'in the *paē*-land east of the House of Thoēris'. The hippopotamus goddess *Ti-Wrt* had shrines in the Fayyūm in Ptolemaic times; for the two *Θοηριεύα* at Kerkosiris see Grenfell and Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri*, I, p. 140. As explained p. 48, the Graeco-Roman nome-lists give Temē as the name of the canal (*mr*) of the XIXth Heracleopolite nome. It is not known how the lacuna should be filled.

§ 103 (40, 31)† The House of Amūn of the Beautiful Foreland in Memphis.

The problems connected with Amūn bearing this epithet are discussed by Daressy in *Ann. Serv.*, XVIII, 34-6 and again by M. Hamza in *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 647-55, the starting-point of both being a relief found at Kāntir showing Ramesses II worshipping Amen-Rē, lord of  (*sic*) as well as Ḥathōr, lady of . Daressy quotes also a mayor  'in Khanṭnūfe' among the Delta princes who came to Athribis to make their submission to Piankhi (his inscription, l. 117) and a Serapeum stela (*Rec. trav.*, XXIII, 90, § CLV) naming several related persons who were prophets of Amen-Rē  'lord of Khanṭnūfe', two of them also bearing the Memphite title 'prophet of Sachmis  of Saḥurē'. Hamza adds a Berlin statue (No. 21595, see Roeder, *Aeg. Inschr.*, II, 398), where a New Kingdom personage named Sennūfe, who is shown worshipping Bast of Bubastus, combines with his titles of 'great steward of the king' and 'overseer of the prophets of  Ptah Khan-⟨Tja?⟩nen' those of 'overseer of the prophets of Min, lord of Epu' (Ekhmīm), 'conductor of the feast of Ptah' and 'First prophet of Amūn in Khanṭnūfe' (). From this somewhat intangible evidence Daressy concluded that Khanṭnūfe was a village in the neighbourhood of Gīzah, while Hamza, who had elsewhere, in my opinion improbably, identified Kāntir with Pi-Ratmesse, now deduced Khanṭnūfe as a further name of the same place. As between the two opinions, that of Daressy receives decided support not only from the association with the Memphite deities Ptah and Sachmis, but also from the Wilbour papyrus, which here and in B 17, 33 adds 'in Memphis' to the divine name. Daressy mentioned in favour of his view that in the Piankhi inscription the mayor or princes adjacent to the mayor of Khanṭnūfe were the governors of Pi-Ḥatpy (now



SMALLER TEMPLES (*continued*)

known to be Atar en-Naby, 2 km. south of Old Cairo, see below, § 238) and of Kherṣaḥa (Old Cairo), and also quoted a Leyden papyrus (Amélineau, *Géogr.*, 473) attributing to one Isidorus the title of ἐπιστάτης κωμῆς Ταχενέφρη τοῦ Μεμφίτου. Tempting as is at first sight the last comparison, it is difficult to account for the initial *Ta* of the place-name, and the final -φρη suggests *Pt-R* rather than some form of *nfr*. It now appears certain that Khamtūfe was the name of a town or large village, and it may have lain at the extreme southern boundary of the Memphite nome, which indeed appears to be meant here and in the heading of B § 5 (see above, p. 48 and below, p. 175), rather than in the immediate proximity of Memphis itself. It seems significant that this temple is not included in the Memphite series, and it is worth noticing that some of the fields belonging to it are said to be 'north of Opē' (B 17, 33) or 'north-east of Opē-isy' (A 40, 32).

HERBAGE-PARAGRAPHS. See pp. 22 ff.

## § 104 (40, 42)† Herbage of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods.

The temple is that of Karnak (§ 51). Like paragraphs occur also in §§ 31. 174.

## § 105 (41, 9)† Herbage of the Mansion of Pharaoh in the House of Amūn.

Herbage for the cattle belonging to the funerary temple of Ramesses V on the west of Thebes, for which see on § 58.

## § 106 (41, 34)† Herbage of the Mansion of Usimaṛē-setpenrē in the House of Amūn.

Herbage for the cattle of the Ramesseum (§ 69). Similar paragraphs are §§ 32. 176. 243.

## § 107 (42, 31)† Herbage of The Mansion Beloved like Rē.

A temple of Ramesses II affiliated to Heliopolis (p. 12). It has other herbage-paragraphs in §§ 33. 181. 245.

## AN ISOLATED PROVINCIAL(?) TEMPLE.

## § 108 (42, 36)\* The House of Raṣmesse-maṣa-miamūn.

The royal name is that of Ramesses IV, in whose *nomen* the epithet *maṣa*, 'true', written with the two feathers, alternates with *heḥ-māṣ* 'Ruler of Truth'; the phonetic writing seems to occur only in Pleyte and Rossi, *Pap. Turin*, 49, 2. The location of this temple is unknown, unless it can be inferred from the place-name *Smaṣa* (Table II, No. 122) in the line of measurement.

## THE QUEEN AND THE HAREMS. See p. 18.

## § 109 (42, 40)\* The House of the (King's) Great Wife Henwōte.

Substantially identical headings are those of §§ 153. 172. Food for the Queen's white goats, § 193. *Pōsh*-entries: 38, 16-17, which discloses that the fields of this paragraph were in the charge of the controller Penḥasi (for him see on § 39); also 57, 43. 45; these all write the word for 'Queen' in much shortened form, as also B 10, 29. No name of a wife of Ramesses V was previously known; § 276 gives Twertenro as the name of another.

## § 110 (43, 1-2)|| The Harem in Memphis:

Domain of this house under the authority of the Mayor of Ḥardai.

For this Harem see on § 38. Just as there fields belonging to it were under the charge of the Mayor of Tpēhu (Aṭfih), so here they are administered by the Mayor of Ḥardai (Cynopolis). Though the latter dignitary is here unnamed, as in § 115, there administering *khato*-land, probably the defunct Neferabē of 56, 46 is meant, whom we find not described as dead in the heading of B § 16, but as dead and without his title in A § 60, where he controls certain lands belonging to the funerary temple of Ramesses IV at Thebes. See further p. 51; the Neferabē of 66, 5 was doubtless a different person.

## § 111 (43, 5-6)|| The Harem (in) Mi-wēr:

Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle of Amūn.

For the Harem of the town of Moeris (Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb) see on § 39 and also pp. 45 f.. The name of the overseer of cattle of Amūn (i.e. of Amen-Rē of Karnak) was Raṣmessenakhte, and in Section IV he is in charge of fields belonging, not only to the Harem of Mi-wēr (§ 279), but also to the Harem of Memphis (§ 277). In § 120 we find him administering fields making provender for cattle destined for the offerings of Amen-Rē at Karnak, and in § 210 he is in authority over more fields belonging to the great Theban temple, though in § 230 he has to do with lands possessed by the temple of Medīnet Habu. He does not occur as a holder of land or in connexion with donated land, but his title without the name is found in the *pōsh*-entry 85, 40 corresponding to one in § 230.



HAREMS (*continued*)

§ 112 (43, 9)|| Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle Pkatja.

This often-named official was attached to, and managed certain fields belonging to, the temple of Ramesses II at Memphis (§ 149), as well as administering *khato*-lands of Pharaoh (§ 203; B § 17). In the last-named place his name is given in the fuller form Pkatjana, with the common variant (*ktj*) of the word for 'charioteer', and in A § 203 he is described as 'of the House of Ptah'. In 59, 11. 14; 71, 14 he is himself a holder of land, the remaining references to him (58, 13; 59, 16. 23) being *pōsh*-entries corresponding to § 203.

**KHATO-LAND OF PHARAOH.** See above, §§ 44–50 and for the term, pp. 165 ff., 189 f. Section II has no paragraphs devoted to *minē*-land.

§ 113 (43, 12)\* *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the standard-bearer of the Residence Merenptah.

The heading is identical with that of § 44, in connexion with which the personality of Merenptah has been discussed. For the plot here mentioned cf. B 10, 16.

§ 114 (43, 16)\* *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of [the Overseer of Proph]ets.

For the reading see the Corrections to this Text volume, and for the dignitary here in question see above § 40 and in Table III under Merybarsē (2). Here the prophet Wennofre of Pi-Wayna (§ 99) acts as cultivator on his behalf. The plot mentioned here appears to be that of B 13, 9, though there it is said to be south-east of Pi-Wayna, not south as here.

§ 115 (43, 20)\* *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the Mayor of Hardai.

For this mayor see on § 110. The first plot in this paragraph does not occur in Text B, § 16; the second = B 17, 14.

§ 116 (43, 25)\* *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet Merybarsē.

This Merybarsē (1) was prophet of Nephthys at Spermeru in the temple built for that goddess by Ramesses II, see on § 94 and in Table III. The *khato*-lands in his charge are mentioned also below in § 206. This Merybarsē does not occur in Text B, § 30 there naming a different prophet; but it is possible that the plot of land here referred to may have been intended in B 22, 12, in spite of a difference in the points of the compass. A very curious fact is that this same plot seems to be entered again in Section III, see 74, 29–30.

## SECTION III

(44, 1) Year 4, second month of the Inundation season, day 2[1 to day] 28, assessment made by ———.  
On the sections and their headings see above, pp. 9 f.

## THEBES

§ 117 (44, 2–4)\* The House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, [under the authority] of the First Prophet of Amūn:

Domain of the House of Raṣmesse-miamūn in the House of Amūn under the authority of the Steward of Amūn, (administered) by the hand of the controller Amenhotpe.

For the great temple of Karnak and the officials administering its lands see on § 51.

For the First Prophet (High-priest) of Amūn Raṣmessenakhte see Table III; the Steward of Amūn Usimaṣrēnakhte and his subordinate Amenhotpe are discussed under § 52.

The temple of Ramesses II mentioned in the sub-heading is doubtless that of which the famous Hall of Columns is an important part, and this lies so much in the centre of the great Karnak temple that it is less surprising than it otherwise would be to find it subsumed under that greater institution. Such a subsumption is unique in the papyrus, for § 62 can barely be considered a parallel case. What is much stranger is that this temple of Ramesses II should be found again in § 152, likewise in Section III, and its fields administered by the Steward of Amūn; there it is completely out of place and is an apportioning paragraph, not a non-apportioning one as here. Possibly 'House of Raṣmesse-miamūn' without adjunct in B 8, 25 (perhaps too 3, 20; 5, 4) also refers to this temple.

§ 118 (44, 6)† Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Hardai.

For the consecutive paragraphs §§ 118. 119 see above §§ 54. 55. The import of their headings is discussed pp. 39 f.

§ 119 (45, 9)† Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Nome of Ninsu.

See on § 118.



§ 120 (45, 31-2)\* Domain of the divine offerings [of Amen-]Rē, King of the Gods:

The term  $\overline{\text{𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏}}$  *hṭp-nṯr* is used to render *προσόδοι* on the Rosetta stone, but signifies in demotic 'endowment estates' according to Griffith, *Rylands Catalogue*, III, p. 80, n. 2; p. 265, n. 4. In the unique heading here, however, the actual offerings to the god are possibly meant. For the sub-heading see p. 23, and for Raṯmessenakhte see on § 111. Perhaps § 210, though its heading is couched in simpler terms, may have referred to the same category of fields as here.

THEBES, funerary temple of Ramesses V.

Domain of this house under the authority of the First Prophet of Amūn Ra'smessenakhte.

§ 123 (46, 1)† Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Iḥardai.

§ 124 (49, 17-18)\* Domains of this house under the authority of officials:

'Officials', see on § 56; this heading governs § 125 as well as § 124. Scribes named Setnakhte occur a number of times, but the only ones likely to be identical with the official here mentioned are holders of land in 77, 50; 90, 7; 92, 24, where 'of the granary' is added.

The first line of § 124 is to be understood before the present heading. The official here mentioned is named again in § 217 in connexion with the same temple, as well as in the corresponding *pōsh*-entry 88, 3.

Domains of this house under the authority of Penpmer, who was (formerly) overseer of the Treasury:

For the funerary temple of Ramesses IV at Thebes see on § 60. In the sub-heading emend 'Domain' for 'Domains'. The Overseer of the Treasury Penpmer had perhaps not died, but been superseded. He is not named again in the papyrus, but for the controller Dhutmosē see § 61 and elsewhere.

Domains of this house under the authority of the *Setem*-priest:

For the temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu see on § 64. It seems clear from some passages of the Tomb-Robberies papyri that the principal priest at Medīnet Habu was called the *Setem*-priest (see p. 20, n. 2): in *P. Brit. Mus.* 10383, 1, 10 we read 'Now when Pharaoh our Lord had come to the City, he appointed the *Setem*-priest Hōri to be *Se(tem)*-priest of T-ḥō', i.e. of Medīnet Habu, and the same bearer of the title is found *P. Brit. Mus.* 10053, rt. 3, 5; the same title is given several times also in *P. Léopold II* (e.g. 2, 1; 3, 9) to one Nesamūn, who was also Second Prophet of Amūn at Karnak. No name is given to the *Setem*-priest of Medīnet Habu here and in § 220. In § 240 *Setem* is probably the personal name of an overseer of cattle. We have met with the controller Dḥutmosē already in connexion with the temple of Ramesses IV (§§ 61. 126).



THEBES, Medīnet Habu (*continued*)

§ 128 (50, 11)\* Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Amenhotpe.

The heading and sub-heading of § 127 are to be understood before this virtual sub-sub-heading. The name Amenhotpe is so common that we cannot be sure that the subordinate of the Steward of Amūn in § 117 is here meant.

§ 129 (50, 21-2)\* Domains of this house under the authority of the steward and the overseer of the granary Kha'emwēse:

Domain of this house under his authority (administered) by the hand of the controller Bekenwernero.

The question whether one or two functionaries are referred to in the heading was discussed in the comments on § 52; the former alternative seems the more probable. The controller Bekenwernero is not mentioned elsewhere.

§ 130 (50, 27)\* Domain of this house under his authority (administered) by the hand of the controller Pnakht'aperti(?).

The controller here mentioned does not occur elsewhere, and the reading of the name is very uncertain.

§ 131 (50, 32-3)\* Domains of this house under the authority of the steward Usima'rē'nakhte:

Domain of this house under his authority (administered) by the hand of the controller Set(hi)-wenmaf.

The headings of this and the next paragraph are practically identical with those of §§ 66-7, there likewise referring to Medīnet Habu.

§ 132 (51, 6)\* Domain of this house under his authority (administered) by the hand of the controller Merōn.

See on § 131.

§ 133 (51, 42)\* Domain of this house (in) the Water of Prē.

Superficially this heading resembles those mentioning the Tract of Ḥardai and the two other nome-administrations (see pp. 39 f.), but here the paragraph is non-apportioning and consequently likely to stand on a different footing. Harris 10, 8 refers to a herd of cattle created by Ramesses III which is said to have existed 'in the Water of Prē', i.e. in the region of the Bubastite branch of the river, see JEA, v, 257 ff. Possibly the present paragraph deals with fields that delivered supplies for that herd and for its herdsman and officials.

§ 134 (51, 45)† Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Ḥardai.

See on § 54; the same designation in connexion with Medīnet Habu, §§ 68. 228.

§ 135 (53, 26-7)\* Domains of this house under the authority of officials:

Domain of this house under the authority of Ḥōri who was overseer of cattle.

'Officials', see above on § 56; this paragraph heading governs § 136 as well as § 135. That these two domains can hardly be identical with the herbage domain of Medīnet Habu (§ 175) is pointed out on p. 23. The defunct or superseded overseer of cattle Ḥōri occurs in B § 28 as living and still in office; for the possible explanation see pp. 183 f.

§ 136 (53, 36)\* Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle Ra'mosē, who is deceased.

This overseer of cattle is mentioned as in control of *khato*-land of Pharaoh in 44, 42; § 204; B § 19, in all these places stated or implied to be deceased and no longer in office. In 60, 31; 66, 16 he is in charge of donated land, and he is named also in the *pōsh*-entries 45, 29; 61, 34.

## THEBES, Ramesseum.

§ 137 (53, 45-7)\* The Mansion of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usima'rē'-miamūn in the House of Amūn:

Domain of this house under the authority of the Despatch-writer of Pharaoh (administered) by the hand of the deputy Ḥaremuia.

The Ramesseum is expected in this place, and reasons have been given under § 69 why *-miamūn* should here be emended into *-setpenrē*. The unnamed Despatch-writer of Pharaoh is discussed under § 64. The deputy Ḥaremuia is not mentioned elsewhere; for the ambiguity of the title *idmw* 'deputy' see pp. 20 f., 84.



THEBES, Ramesseum (*continued*)

## § 138 (54, 3)† Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Ḥardai.

It has been pointed out, in the comments on § 69, that if the name of Ramesses II be not emended in § 137 for that of Ramesses III, this paragraph will embarrassingly duplicate § 134.

## § 139 (54, 25)† The Mansion of King 'Akheperen(?)rē in the House of Amūn.

The identity of the king whose funerary temple is here mentioned has been discussed under § 75.

## PARAGRAPHS INTERRUPTING THE REGULAR SEQUENCE

## § 140 (54, 38)† The House of Thoth, Taking pleasure in Truth, (in) Na-Usima'rē-miamūn.

See on § 89, where this temple is mentioned in its proper place among the smaller temples. The reason for its insertion here is obscure, though it should be noted that §§ 141-3 deal likewise with foundations of Ramesses III. A possibility is that these four institutions were somehow administratively connected with the temple of Medīnet Habu, just as we found (see on §§ 76-8) that three institutions connected with Heliopolis were situated at some little distance from that city.

## § 141 (55, 1)\* The Tabernacle of Usima'rē-miamūn under the authority of the prophet Ḥuy.

For the word *sṣm-ḥw* here rendered 'tabernacle' see pp. 16 f. We have already met with one occurrence of it ('the Tabernacle of Prē') in § 78, and in § 235 another will be found. Here and in §§ 142, 143 the statue contained in the shrine mounted on a portable bark was perhaps one of Ramesses III. If, as is at least possible, the *sṣm-ḥw* in question was that known to have been housed at Medīnet Habu, all three paragraphs will refer to the same cult-object, though its fields in their different localities will have been entrusted to three different functionaries. Since 55, 2 speaks of Spermeru, there can be no doubt that the prophet Ḥuy here named was the prophet of Seth in that town, see on § 92.

## § 142 (55, 4)\* The Tabernacle of Usima'rē-miamūn under the authority of the scribe of the despatch-office 'Osēt.

The scribe 'Osēt has been discussed under § 64, last paragraph (p. 134).

## § 143 (55, 7)\* The Tabernacle of Usima'rē-miamūn under the authority of the standard-bearer of Sherden Usima'rē-nakhte.

For the settlers of Sherden race occupying land in Middle Egypt see p. 80. This particular standard-bearer is not named elsewhere.

## HELIOPOLIS

§ 144 (55, 10-11)† The House of Rē-Ḥarakhti under the authority of the Greatest of Seers:  
Apportioning domain of this house (on) the West Side of Tpēhu.

See on § E, p. 125 above, for both heading and sub-heading. The principal temple of Heliopolis is so named also in the herbage-paragraph § 179, in *Harris*, 37, b, 2 and in the titles of two priests mentioned on the slate tablet at Turin published by Ricke, *ZAS* LXXI, 111 ff. in the fullest account yet given of the Heliopolitan temples. Ricke argues for the existence of a temple of Atum of equal importance, but in favour of this there is no serious archaeological evidence; see my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, under No. 400 of *On. Am.*

The High-priest bore the name Meryatūm, 34, 49, where he is a holder of land; so too, but referred to by the title only, in 35, 3. 5. 7. He is mentioned at Medīnet Habu as a son of Ramesses III, see Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, II, 177; Ramesses II also had a son of the same name, who likewise held this office (*op. cit.*, 97).

§ 145 (55, 28-9)† The Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Rē:  
Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Ḥardai.

See above on § 76; so too below § 236.

## MEMPHIS

§ 146 (58, 1-2)\* The House of Ptaḥ, the Great, South of His [Wall], lord of 'Ankhtowē:  
Domain of this house under the authority of the prophet Kha'emwēse.

See on § 80. The prophet Kha'emwēse is not mentioned elsewhere in the Wilbour papyrus.



MEMPHIS, the House of Ptah (*continued*)

§ 147 (58, 5)† Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Ḥardai.

So too as sub-heading in § 80.

§ 148 (58, 18)† Great Seat of Raḥmesse-miamūn in the House of Ptah.

See on § 3 A, above, p. 125.

§ 149 (58, 25-6)\* The Mansion of Raḥmesse-miamūn in the House of Ptah:  
Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle Pkatja.

This Memphite temple of Ramesses II, here mentioned for the first time, since hardly identical with that called 'Beloved like Ptah' in § 82, is named also on a stela in the Cairo Museum, see Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 235; whether any part of it has survived in the ruins of the city (see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, III, 217 ff.) is uncertain. Fields supplying herbage for its cattle and food for its white goats are the subject of §§ 184, 191 respectively. See too on § 232.

For the overseer of cattle Pkatja see on § 112; in the heading of B § 17 he is said to belong to 'The Mansion in the House of Ptah', an abbreviation of the temple here named analogous to that employed for the temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu (§ 64).

§ 150 (58, 37)† Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Ḥardai.

§ 151 (59, 42)† The House of Raḥmesse-miamūn, Repeater of *Sed*-festivals.

See on § 83.

THEBAN TEMPLE, out of place, the Theban temples having been dealt with in §§ 117-39.

§ 152 (59, 46)† The House of Raḥmesse-miamūn in the House of Amūn under the authority of the Steward of Amūn.

This Theban temple of Ramesses II has been dealt with already as part of the temple of Karnak, see § 117, and its repetition here outside the Theban series is inexplicable.

## THE QUEEN'S HOUSE

§ 153 (60, 3)† The House of the King's Wife.

A non-apportioning paragraph belonging to the Queen's house occurs below in this same section (§ 172), and it is strange that both should be separated. It is also strange that both paragraphs should occupy an exceptional position, their natural place, as seen in §§ 109, 276, being just before the Harems near the end of the sections.

LANDING-PLACES OF PHARAOH. For the position here see before § 84 on p. 138.

§ 154 (60, 24)† The Landing-place of Pharaoh in Ḥardai.

See on § 84.

§ 155 (61, 3)† The Landing-place of Pharaoh under the authority of the Mayor of the Keep of 'Onayna.

See on § 85.

§ 156 (61, 17)† Fields of Pharaoh (in) this domain.

Identically § 86.

SMALLER TEMPLES, see Table I and pp. 47 ff.

§ 157 (61, 31)† The House of Ḥar-Min and Isis.

The two deities named here are discussed above p. 14, n. 5; they recur also in the *pōsh*-entry 53, 42 (where  $\square\text{I}$  is omitted) and were worshipped both at  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$  Gbtyw Coptus (Kift) and at  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$  'Iptw Panopolis (Ekhmīm), and in both places, as the Harris papyrus (61, a, 8, 11) informs us, the temples of these deities were further endowed by Ramesses III. Here Coptus must be intended, since the temple is mentioned before that of Abydus (§ 158); Coptus is south of Abydus, but Ekhmīm is north of that town.

§ 158 (61, 35-6)† The Mansion The heart of King Menmaḥrē is pleased in Abydus:

Apportioning domain of this house.

See on § 88 for this, the famous temple of Sethos I at Abydus.



SMALLER TEMPLES (*continued*)§ 159 (62, 1)† The House of Sebk-Rē, lord of Anashana (*sic*).

This temple, to which, together with its subsidiary foundations added by Setnakhte, Ramesses III and Ramesses IV, no less than seven paragraphs (§§ 254-60) are devoted in Section IV, was probably situated at no great distance from Tihna el-Gebel; see pp. 53 f., where the name of the locality is shown to have been Anasha, and where the many *pōsh*-entries are discussed.

For the various prophets at Anasha see Table III. Since Hōri was second prophet, it seems likely that the much-mentioned Ptaḥmosē was first prophet; another prophet mentioned only in Text B appears to have been named Piu.

## § 160 (62, 24)† The House of Bata, lord of Sakō.

See on § 91.

## § 161 (62, 30)† The House of Amūn, Foreteller of Victory, which is in [Sa]kō.

This same, doubtless less important, temple at Sakō is mentioned on a stela at Leyden (V1, translated in my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Text, I, pp. 51 ff.), and owned a plot of 40 arourae in Section IV, see § 270, where its prophet Penḥasi is named as also in B § 46, see the remark in Table III.

## § 162 (62, 33)† The Sunshade of Rē-Ḥarakhti which is in this place.

This chapel in Sakō has two paragraphs (§§ 272-3) devoted to it in Section IV; corresponding to the second of these paragraphs there is a *pōsh*-entry in 78, 34.

## § 163 (62, 37-8)\* The House of Seth, lord of Spermeru:

Regular domain of this house under his authority.


The town of Spermeru has been shown on pp. 41 f. to have been situated in Zone III, and it is consequently not surprising to find here as many as seven paragraphs (§§ 163-9) in connexion with its various temples. The temple of Seth is discussed in § 92.

The expression 'regular domain' has been discussed p. 22. The phrase 'under his authority' here seems meaningless as it stands, since no person to whom the pronoun can refer has been mentioned. Doubtless, however, the prophet Huy of § 92 was intended. A somewhat similar piece of carelessness was noted under § 95.

## § 164 (63, 27)\* Domain of this house under the authority of the second prophet Nata.

See on § 92 for the temple and for the second prophet in question.

## § 165 (63, 32)\* Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle Pṯakawty.

This overseer of cattle is mentioned in 71, 44 as a holder of land, but the element  -a- is there wrongly omitted from his name.

## § 166 (63, 35)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house.

## § 167 (64, 1)\* The House of Seth, lord of Wealth and Might, which is in this house.

Probably a small shrine or chapel within the domain of Seth of Spermeru, but not necessarily part of his temple. It is mentioned again only in the corresponding *pōsh*-entry 45, 11, where the epithet of the god has the variant form *wsr ḥpṯ-f* 'Powerful is His Mighty Arm'.

## § 168 (64, 5)\* The House of Nephthys of Raḥmesse-miamūn in the House of Seth.

See on § 94.

## § 169 (64, 29)\* The Sunshade of Rē-Ḥarakhti which is in this house.

This Sunshade is mentioned nowhere else; see, however, on §§ 28-9. Probably 'this house' means 'the house of Seth', not that of Nephthys; both were named in § 168.


## § 170 (64, 32)\* The House of Amūn Tjay(ef), which is (in) the Village of Tjayef.

See on § 97.

## § 171 (64, 35)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house.

## § 172 (64, 38-9)\* The House of the King's Great Wife Henwōte:


Domain of this house which was in the seventeenth [hou]se.

See on § 109 and also on § 153, a paragraph which, being in the same Section III, strangely duplicates this one and likewise occupies an abnormal place; for the reading  here see the Corrigenda to this Text volume. The mysterious expression in the sub-heading is discussed on p. 22.



SMALLER TEMPLES (*continued*)

## § 173 (65, 1)† The House of Amūn, lord of Sharopě.

For the town of Sharopě see p. 49, where some slender grounds are given for placing it on the East Bank at no great distance north of Hardai (Cynopolis). As a point of orientation in the lines of measurement Sharopě occurs often in Section III, see Table II, No. 131, as well as five times in Text B (3, 27; 13, 16; 18, 19; 19, 21; 20, 29). The name can, of course, have nothing to do with the  Sherp that was the capital of the Wādy Natrūn (Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, v, 143). The temple, adjacent to which there seems to have been a 'copse' (*št*, Table II, No. 135), is mentioned only here explicitly and there are no *pōsh*-entries.

HERBAGE-PARAGRAPHS. Here begins a series of no less than thirteen paragraphs of this type (see pp. 22 ff.), the same topographical and chronological order being observed as in the ordinary paragraphs, see pp. 10 f. However, § 178 is an exception in both respects.

## § 174 (65, 6)† Herbage of the House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods.

I.e. of the great temple of Karnak. Identical paragraph-headings are found in §§ 31. 104.

## § 175 (66, 11)† Herbage of the Mansion of Usima'rē-miamūn in the House of Amūn.

I.e. of the temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu (§ 64). It is curious that such an important temple should possess only one paragraph of this type, whereas the Ramesseum (see on § 176) has four.

## § 176 (66, 24)† Herbage of the Mansion of Usima'rē-setpenrē in the House of Amūn.

I.e. of the Ramesseum (§ 69). No less than three other paragraphs are identical with the present one, see on § 32.

## § 177 (66, 30)† Herbage of the House of Haremḥab in the House of Amūn.

Identically § 244; for this Theban temple see on § 70.

## § 178 (66, 39)† Herbage of the Mansion of Menma'rē in Abydos.

This same temple is mentioned under its fuller name (see on § 88) below in § 185, and it is inexplicable that the two should occur in such close proximity. Here, as noted above, the paragraph is out of place, regarded from the standpoint of the general rule.

## § 179 (67, 16)† Herbage of the House of Rē-Harakhti.

For this Heliopolitan temple see § 144. This particular domain belonging to it is named only here.

## § 180 (67, 36)† Herbage of the Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Rē.

At Heliopolis, see on § 76.

## § 181 (67, 42)† Herbage of the Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn, Beloved like Rē.

For this heading and for the temple so called, which was perhaps near Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb (p. 12), see on § 33. 237.

## § 182 (68, 30)† Herbage of the House of Ptaḥ, the Great, South of His Wall, lord of 'Ankhtowě.

For this, the central temple of Memphis, see § 80. The herbage domain is mentioned only here.

## § 183 (69, 1)† Herbage of Great Seat of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Ptaḥ.

The same heading, but with the words 'of Ra'messe-miamūn' omitted, is found in § 246. For the Memphite temple founded by Ramesses II and here named see on § 3 A, p. 125.

## § 184 (69, 14)† Herbage of the Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Ptaḥ.

This precise heading is found only here. For the Memphite temple concerned see § 149.

## § 185 (69, 36)† Herbage of the Mansion The Heart of Menma'rē is pleased in Abydos.

See above on § 178, where comment is made on the repetition of two practically identical paragraphs at so short an interval.

## § 186 (69, 46)† Herbage of the House of Onūris, lord of This.

This temple, mentioned in *Harris* 61, a, 4, occurs in the Wilbour papyrus only here and in the corresponding *pōsh*-entry 51, 26. For the location of This near Girgā see my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, on No. 353 of *On. Am.*



WHITE GOAT PARAGRAPHS, see pp. 23 f. A series of nine, §§ 187-95.

§ 187 (70, 9)† Food for white goats of the Mansion of Millions of Years of Ra'messe-Amenhikhopshef-miamūn.

For this funerary temple of Rameses V at Thebes see on § 58. This particular type of domain is mentioned again in connexion with it in § 247.

§ 188 (70, 15)† Food for white goats of the Mansion of Usima'rē-setpenrē in the House of Amūn.

The temple named is the Ramesseum; see on § 69.

§ 189 (71, 1)† Domain of white goats of the Mansions of Festival.

For this Memphite foundation connected with the *Sed*-festival of the King see p. 13 and above on § 83.

§ 190 (71, 4)† Food for white goats of Great Seat in the House of Ptaḥ.

This precise heading only here. For the Memphite temple in question see on § 3A, p. 125.

§ 191 (71, 9)† Food for white goats of the Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Ptaḥ.

This heading only here. For the Memphite temple named in it see § 149.

§ 192 (71, 16)† Food for white goats of the Treasury of Pharaoh.

An unusual heading inasmuch as except here and in § 193 paragraphs of this type are associated only with temples. The Treasury of Pharaoh is referred to also in §§ 196, 197.

§ 193 (71, 36)† Food for white goats of the House of the (King's) Wife.

This precise heading only here. For the Queen's house see on § 109.

§ 194 (71, 40)† Domain of white goats of the House of Seth, lord of Spermeru.

This heading only here. For the temple see on § 92.

§ 195 (71, 47)† Domain of white goats of the House of Seth, lord of Pi-Wa(y)na.

This heading only here. For Pi-Wayna and its temple see on §§ 99.

#### THE TREASURY OF PHARAOH

§ 196 (72, 6-7)\* The Treasury of Pharaoh under the authority of the overseer of the Treasury Ment-towē:

Domain of this house which makes provender for Northern Oasis asses.

Apart from this paragraph and the next, the Treasury of Pharaoh is mentioned only in § 192, an apportioning paragraph dealing with fields that provided food for its white goats. For the official here mentioned Černý refers me to *P. jud. Turin*, 2, 1 and to another Turin papyrus of the second year of Rameses II, Pleyte and Rossi, *Pap. de Turin*, 49, 4.

The strange sub-heading found here and in §§ 197, 209, 222 has been discussed on p. 23. It is perhaps pertinent to add that the Oasis of El-Baḥariyah would be easily accessible from Zone III in which the present paragraph occurs, since there were roads leading thence both to Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus) and to Medīnet el-Fayyūm. The two *pōsh*-entries 46, 47, 49 render the sense of this sub-heading by the words 'Domain of provender of asses of Northern Oasis of this house'. For the Oasis itself see Ball and Beadnell, *Baharia Oasis*, Cairo, 1903, and for the ancient name, Sethe in *ZAS.*, LVI, 50; Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* 1, 203; recent explorations, A. Fakhry in *Ann. Serv.*, XXXVIII-XL.

§ 197 (72, 13-14)\* The Treasury of Pharaoh on the left:

Domain of this house which makes provender (for) Northern Oasis asses.

The unexpected designation 'on the left' might appear connected in some way with that often found in the documents concerning the workmen of the Royal tombs at Thebes; these workmen were divided equally between the 'right side' and the 'left side', but there the reference seems to be to the two sides of the tomb itself; formerly I thought of the right and left banks of the Nile. Here the meaning is utterly obscure.

MINĒ-LAND OF PHARAOH, see p. 18 and again pp. 165 ff.

§ 198 (72, 20)\* Minē-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the overseer of prophets Merybarsē.

See on § 40.



*MINĚ-LAND OF PHARAOH (continued)*

§ 199 (72, 24)\* *Mině-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet of the House of Seth Huy.*

This Huy was prophet of the temple of Seth at Spermeru, see on § 92.

§ 200 (72, 31)\* *Mině-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the Chief Taxing-master.*

The 'Chief Taxing-master', who, as remarked above, p. 10, probably had much to do with the operations recorded in this papyrus, is never there mentioned by name and indeed occurs only here, implicitly in § 201, and in the *pōsh-* entries corresponding to the latter section, namely 46, 38; 54, 44; 68, 3. He was a very high official, see my note in *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (Chester Beatty Gift)*, Text, p. 48, n. 8. The father of the High-priest Ra<sup>c</sup>mes-senakhte was one bearer of the title, see Lefebvre, *Histoire*, p. 264. The Onomasticon of Amenop<sup>c</sup>ē (No. 110) records the title 'Chief Taxing-master of the entire land', and the last words suggest that one and the same holder might on occasion deal with the whole of Egypt. However, Couyat and Montet, *Ouādi Hammāmāt*, No. 12, name two holders together under Ramesses IV. Under § 52 above, and below under § 201 reasons are given for the belief that here the title refers to the Steward Usima<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>nakhte, a son of the High-priest Ra<sup>c</sup>messenakhte and the principal administrator of *khato*-land in Text B.

*KHATO-LAND OF PHARAOH*, see p. 18 and again pp. 165 ff.

§ 201 (72, 34)\* *Khato-land of Pharaoh under his authority.*

The occurrence in this paragraph of one or two places which occur also in p. 3 of Text B goes far to prove the identity of the Chief Taxing-master of § 200, here referred to by the pronoun 'his', with the Steward Usima<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>nakhte.

§ 202 (73, 30)\* *Khato-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the Mayor of Spermeru.*

Details of the *khato*-land in the charge of this official are given in § 15 of Text B, and include fields in all the three places mentioned in this paragraph, but his name is not given. For the location of Spermeru see pp. 41 f.

§ 203 (73, 37)\* *Khato-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Pkatja, the overseer of cattle of the House of Ptah.*

For Pkatja see on § 112. Of the three localities mentioned in this paragraph as having possessed *khato*-lands of Pharaoh that were under his control, only one, or, assuming an error in the point of the compass, two, occur in the corresponding paragraph § 17 of Text B.

§ 204 (74, 5)\* *Khato-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Ra<sup>c</sup>mosē who was (formerly) overseer of cattle of The Mansion.*

For this Ra<sup>c</sup>mosē see on § 136 and for the abbreviated name 'The Mansion' (*T-Hō*) to signify the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu see on § 64. In § 19 of Text B *khato*-lands are mentioned near the two localities named here in the lines of measurement, but are differently orientated in reference to them.

§ 205 (74, 11)\* *Khato-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Huy, (prophet) of the House of Seth, lord of Spermeru.*

For the prophet Huy see on § 92, and for a list of the *khato*-lands under his charge, including all those, six in number, mentioned in this paragraph, see § 23 of Text B.

§ 206 (74, 28)\* *Khato-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet of the House of Nephthys Merybarsē.*

For this prophet see on § 94. Of the two plots here given as having been under his authority one seems to have been entered already among the returns of Section II, compare 74, 29-30 with 43, 26-7 in § 116. The same fields appear to have been intended in B 22, 12, though the orientation there is north-east instead of south-east, and the name of the prophet mentioned in the paragraph heading is different. So too B 22, 13 probably relates to the same land as 74, 31-2, despite a similar discrepancy.

§ 207 (74, 34)\* *Khato-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet of the House of Amūn Tjayef in the Village of Tjay[ef].*

The temple here in question was discussed under § 97. The name of its prophet, here unstated, is given in § 41 of Text B as Kenyamūn, and of the two plots there mentioned one doubtless contained that recorded here in 74, 35-6.



## SECTION IV

(75, 1) Year 4, second month of the Inundation season, day 29, to third month of the Inundation season, day 1, assessment made by —.

On the sections and their headings see above, p. 9.

THEBES, the temple of Karnak.

§ 208 (75, 2-4)\* The House of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, under the authority of the First Prophet of Amūn:

Domain(s?) of this house under the authority of the Steward of Amūn:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Beknamūn.

As in §§ 51, 117 the new section opens with the great temple of Karnak under its High-priest Raḥmessenakhte. Here again, as in §§ 52, 117, we find the Steward of Amūn, undoubtedly Usimaṛēnakhte, at the head of one or more domains, but in this paragraph, as in the next, the controller (*rwḏw*) subordinated to him is otherwise unknown, unless it is he who is named in § 278 as administering lands belonging to the Harem of Mi-wēr.

§ 209 (75, 7-8)\* Domain of this house which makes provender (for) Northern Oasis asses of this house under his authority:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Usihē.

For the virtual sub-heading see on § 196. The controller Usihē may be the same man who is mentioned in B § 54 as in charge of *khato*-land of Pharaoh.

§ 210 (75, 11)\* Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, Raḥmessenakhte.

For this official see on § 120, a paragraph that may refer to the same category of fields, though the heading differs.

§ 211 (75, 18)† Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Ḥardai.

See on § 54.

§ 212 (76, 15-16)\* Domain(s) of this house under the authority of officials:

Domain of this house under the authority of the deputy Ptaḥemḥab.

'Officials', see on § 56, where, as here, the expression seems designed to anticipate at least one other paragraph naming a different official, whereas in point of fact the next paragraph merely mentions a subsidiary temple. The Ptaḥemḥab here recurs in § 215 as in control of lands belonging to the temple of Ramesses V, and in 77, 33 and possibly also, unless a different man is there meant, in 28, 23; 31, 16 as himself a holder of land. For the title 'deputy' see pp. 20, 84.

§ 213 (76, 20)† The House of Mut, the Great, lady of Mashru (*sic*).

This temple is mentioned in the Wilbour only here; it still exists to the south of the great temple of Amen-Rē at Karnak. 'Mashru' is, of course, a miswriting of the site named Ishru, Ashru, where the temple lies.

THEBES, funerary temples on the West Bank.

§ 214 (76, 27-9)\* The Mansion of Millions of Years of Raḥmesse-Amenḥikhopshef-miamūn in the House of Amūn:

Domain of this house under the authority of the First Prophet of Amūn Raḥmessenakhte:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Praḥnakhte.

For this Theban temple of the reigning Pharaoh Ramesses V see on § 58, where also it was stated to be under the authority of the High-priest and where the particular domain mentioned was administered by the same controller as here.

§ 215 (76, 40-1)\* Domain(s) of this house under the authority of officials:

Domain of this house (under the authority of) the deputy Ptaḥemḥab.

This domain belonging to the temple of Ramesses V has exactly the same heading and sub-heading as § 212, which deals with a domain belonging to the temple of Karnak.

§ 216 (76, 44)\* Domain of this house under the authority of the deputy Praḥemḥab.

For the title 'deputy' see pp. 20, 84. The Praḥemḥab thus described is named here for the first time. He occurs often below as a holder of land in his own right (83, 2, 36; 87, 1, 6; 91, 46; 93, 5), and his name occurs also in the *pōsh*-entry of Type B (87, 9) corresponding to that in the present paragraph, as well as in another (93, 3) where he acts as cultivator on behalf of some land belonging to the temple of Medīnet Habu and adjacent to a plot of his own lying fallow.



THEBES, the funerary temple of Ramesses V (*continued*)

§ 217 (76, 48)\* Domain of this house under the authority of the chief of the record-keepers Hekmat-rēnakhte.

The same official in connexion with the same temple, see § 125.

§ 218 (77, 1)† Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Hardai.

So too §§ 59, 123.

§ 219 (78, 26-8)\* The Mansion of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Hekmat-rē-setpenamūn in the House of Amūn:

Domain of this house (under the authority of) (*title and name omitted*):

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Amenemhab.

The scribe evidently intended to add later the name and title of the official under whose authority this domain of the funerary temple of Ramesses IV stood. In § 60 a defunct mayor of Hardai is the responsible functionary, and in § 126 a defunct or superseded Overseer of the Treasury; possibly the man here to be named was the successor of one of these. The controller Amenemhab is mentioned again only in the *pōsh*-entries corresponding to those in the present paragraph, 87, 29; 88, 6; 93, 18; 95, 40; 100, 27; in all of these he is the responsible cultivator, and accordingly in the last three is given the title 'cultivator' instead of that of 'controller'.

THEBES, the temple of Medīnet Habu.

§ 220 (78, 44-6)\* The Mansion of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usima-rē-miamūn in the House of Amūn:

Domains of this house under the authority of the *Setem*-priest:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Meryrē.

In this section the temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu (see on § 64) claims no less than eleven paragraphs. In §§ 127-8 two domains are under the *Setem*-priest, as here, but the controllers are in both cases different. The controller Meryrē is mentioned again only in 83, 16, a *pōsh*-entry corresponding to that in the present paragraph, though with certain discrepancies.

§ 221 (79, 3)\* Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Merymāē.

For this agent of the temple of Medīnet Habu see on § 64, but there Merymāē is subordinate to the Despatch-writer of Pharaoh.

§ 222 (79, 11)\* Domain of this house which makes provender (for) Northern Oasis asses of this house under his authority.

For the form and content of this heading see on § 196; only here in connexion with Medīnet Habu.

§ 223 (79, 14-15)\* Domains of this house under the authority of the Steward Usima-rēnakhte:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Amenemuia.

For the persons here mentioned see on §§ 52, 53, where, however, they are discussed as the responsible official and the subordinate of domains of the great temple of Karnak.

§ 224 (79, 42)\* Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller 'Ashaemhab.

This controller is not named elsewhere; he is doubtless not to be identified with the overseer of cattle in the temple of Arsaphes at Heracleopolis (§ 5).

§ 225 (80, 4)\* Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Sennūfe.

This Sennūfe is not mentioned elsewhere.

§ 226 (80, 9)\* Domain of this house under the authority of the Steward Pēl.

See on § 52 for this personage, and on § 254 for the problems presented by his name.

§ 227 (80, 12)\* Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Inwau.

This controller is named only here.

§ 228 (80, 19)† Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Hardai.

For the same designation of domains belonging to the temple of Medīnet Habu see §§ 68, 124.

§ 229 (82, 37)\* Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of the granary Amennakhte.

Another official named Kha'emwēse was found in § 129 with the same title and employed by the temple of Medīnet Habu; the Amennakhte who occurs here is not mentioned elsewhere.



THEBES, the temple of Medīnet Habu (*continued*)

§ 230 (82, 40)\* Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle Raḥmessenakhṭe.

Raḥmessenakhṭe was really an official of the great temple of Karnak, though here acting for the temple of Medīnet Habu. For other mentions of him see on § 111.

THEBES, Ramesseum.

§ 231 (82, 44-5)† The Mansion of Usimaṛē-setpenrē in the House of Amūn:

Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Ḥardai.

Identically named domains have been found in connexion with the Ramesseum already in § 69 and probably also in § 138.

MEMPHIS, a wrongly intercalated paragraph.

§ 232 (83, 7)† The House of Ptaḥ of Meneptah and of Raḥmesse-miamūn.

In the *pōsh*-entry 101, 18 corresponding to 83, 9-10, as well as in B 13, 7, this temple is described merely as 'the House of Ptaḥ of Meneptah', and the same shorter designation, but with the addition 'in the House of Ptaḥ', occurs in the *pōsh*-entry 100, 18, one which has no counterpart in the present or in any other paragraph. If the well-known temple of Meneptah at Memphis (see Porter and Moss, *Topograph. Bibliography*, 111, 223) is meant, then the paragraph interrupts a sequence of exclusively Theban temples, though chronologically the position is as expected. The question thus arises, whether the Karnak temple of Ptaḥ may not be intended. Against this speaks the fact that the temple in question (*op. cit.*, 11, 66-8) shows no trace of Nineteenth Dynasty construction. For that reason it seems preferable to take the hint afforded by 100, 18 (see above) and to conclude that the paragraph refers to land belonging to the Memphite temple. Displacements of paragraphs are not uncommon, indeed two will encounter us almost at once in §§ 234-5. The addition here of the *nomen* of Ramesses II is very strange; it seems unlikely that our temple has anything to do with that of § 149. Also 'The Mansion of Meneptah in the House of Ptaḥ' (note 'Mansion' in place of 'House'), which appears below in its proper place (§ 240), is presumably a quite different temple, probably to be regarded as a funerary foundation like those on the West Bank of Thebes, but at Memphis.

THEBES (*resumed*).

§ 233 (83, 13)† The House of Ḥaremḥab in the House of Amūn.

Doubtless at Karnak, see above under § 70.

TWO WRONGLY PLACED PARAGRAPHS.

§ 234 (83, 23)† The Mansion of King Menmaṛē in Abydos.

See on § 88; as that paragraph and § 158 show, the proper place for this would have been near the beginning of the series of smaller temples, i.e. after § 251.

§ 235 (83, 26)\* The Tabernacle of Pharaoh under the authority of the overseer of the Treasury Khaḥemtir.

It is probably more than a coincidence that three paragraphs dealing with tabernacles (*sšm-ḥw*) of Ramesses III should similarly in Section III intervene between the Theban and Heliopolitan series (§§ 141-3); so too (except that one more Theban temple follows, § 75) the four paragraphs in Section II ushered in by the words 'The god of Usimaṛē-miamūn' (§§ 71-4). Here one would have expected that the word 'Pharaoh' should refer, in accordance with the rule (p. 10, with n. 2), to the reigning king, i.e. Ramesses V, but the *pōsh*-entry 86, 4-5 corresponding to 83, 29 shows that Ramesses III was intended, as in the paragraphs mentioned above.

The overseer of the Treasury Khaḥemtir, earlier mentioned in 76, 24 as in charge of some donated land, is in sixteen entries himself a holder of land, e.g. 82, 27; 86, 17; 87, 14. 18. The identity of this high official with a man bearing the same name and title mentioned in the Mallet Papyrus was, as already stated (p. 84), pointed out to me by Gunn.

HELIOPOLIS.

§ 236 (83, 30-1)† The Mansion of Raḥmesse-miamūn in the House of Rē:

Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Ḥardai.

See on § 76, the heading and sub-heading of which, like those of § 145, are identical.

§ 237 (87, 37-8)† The Mansion of Raḥmesse-miamūn, Beloved like Rē:

Apportioning domain of this house (in) the Tract of Ḥardai.

The fields supplying the herbage for the cattle belonging to this temple of Ramesses II are the subject of §§ 33. 107. 181. 245. From the epithet 'Beloved like Rē', as well as from the position here, it might be natural to conclude



HELIOPOLIS (*continued*)

that it was situated in or near Heliopolis, just as it may be assumed that the similarly named temple in § 82, but there bearing the epithet 'Beloved like Ptah' and placed in the Memphite series, was situated in or near Memphis. However, evidence has been adduced on p. 12 tending to show that, though this temple was undoubtedly affiliated to the Estate of Rē of Heliopolis, its actual site was at or near Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb at the entrance to the Fayyūm. For the abbreviation of the name 'The Mansion Beloved like Rē' found in § 107 and in some *pōsh*-entries see on § F, above, p. 125.

## § 238 (88, 4)† The House of Ḥaṣpy, father of the gods.

This temple near Kherāḥa (Old Cairo), now known to have been situated at Atar en-Naby, on the East Bank 2 km. farther south, is similarly connected with Heliopolis in *Harris* 29, 7. The view that it was on the island of Rōḍah, where the Moslem Nilometer now stands (Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, § 109), appears to be erroneous, as also that the Greek name was Nilopolis. See my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, under no. 397 of *On. Am.* A corresponding *pōsh*-entry occurs in 78, 37. When speaking of Ḥaṣpy as the Nile-god (e.g. above, p. 12) I have not been unmindful of De Buck's discovery that he personified the Inundation, the high Nile, not simply the river.

## MEMPHIS

## § 239 (88, 12)† Great Seat in the House of Ptah.

See on § 3 A, p. 125.

## § 240 (89, 3-4)\* The Mansion of Meneptah-hotp(ḥi)mā'ē in the House of Ptah:

Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle Setem.

Probably a funerary temple of Meneptah at Memphis, see on § 232; it is mentioned also in B 8, 4, as well as in the heading of B 44 referred to below. Though the word *setem* (commonly known to Egyptologists in the form *sem*, see p. 20, n. 2) was a usual designation of the High-priest of Ptah of Memphis, here we certainly have a personal name, cf. for other examples Ranke, *Ägypt. Personennamen*, 321, 26, together with *op. cit.*, 307, 1; this view is borne out by the title and name of the same official in § 44 of Text B, where he is in control of *khato*-lands.

A LANDING-PLACE OF PHARAOH, see p. 18. Here §§ 241-7 abnormally interrupt the series of Memphite temples.

## § 241 (89, 11)† The Landing-place of Pharaoh in Ḥardai.

The same heading occurred in Sections II and III, see on § 84.

## § 242 (90, 3)† Fields of Pharaoh (in) this domain.

Headings of this kind occur elsewhere after paragraphs referring to some landing-place of Pharaoh, see §§ 86. 156, but this is the only occurrence in connexion with Ḥardai.

HERBAGE-PARAGRAPHS, see pp. 22 ff. The four named here observe the usual topographical and chronological sequence; for their abnormal position here see just before § 241.

## § 243 (90, 18)† Herbage of the Mansion of Usima'rē-setpenrē in the House of Amūn.

I.e. of the Ramesseum, as in §§ 32. 106. 176.

## § 244 (90, 29)† Herbage of the House of Ḥaremḥab in the House of Amūn.

Identically § 177; for this temple at Thebes see § 70.

## § 245 (91, 1)† Herbage of the Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn, Beloved like Rē.

For this temple of Ramesses II affiliated to Heliopolis see on § 237. Other paragraphs referring to its cattle-fodder are §§ 33. 107. 181.

## § 246 (92, 7)† Herbage of Great Seat in the House of Ptah.

For this Memphite temple see § 3 A, p. 125; its herbage is the subject also of § 183.

A WHITE GOAT PARAGRAPH, see pp. 23 f. and the series §§ 187-95.

## § 247 (92, 11)† Food for white goats of the Mansion of Millions in the House of Amūn.

This abbreviated temple-name must refer to the Theban temple of Ramesses V (§ 58). The paragraph-heading here is in effect identical with that of § 187.

MEMPHIS (*resumed*)§ 248 (92, 22)† The House of Ra'messe-miamūn, Repeater of *Sed*-festivals in the House of Rē.

See p. 13 and above on § 83.



## SMALLER TEMPLES

§ 249 (92, 25)† The House of Mont, lord of Hermonthis.

This is the southernmost temple owning fields in the region embraced by Text A, in which it is mentioned only here.

§ 250 (92, 29-30)\* The House of Osiris, lord of Abydos, the Great God, Ruler of Eternity:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the controller Idhumosē.

For this temple see on § 87. The Abydene temple of Sethos I, which we should have expected to follow, is misplaced in this section after the Theban series, see § 234. The controller Idhumosē occurs only here.

§ 251 (93, 1)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house.

§ 252 (93, 8)† The House of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis.

The well-known temple at Ashmunēn mentioned in *Harris* 61, b, 3 as containing a 'Mansion' of Ramesses III. In the Wilbour papyrus only here and in the corresponding *pōsh*-entries 78, 40; 79, 22.

§ 253 (93, 20-1)\* The House of Amūn Mui-Khant under the authority of the prophet Hōri:

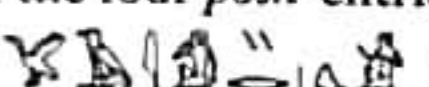

Regular domain under his authority.

This temple, doubtless at Tihna itself, is named outside our papyrus only in *Harris* 61, b, 9 and in the Golénischéff Onomasticon, see p. 54, with n. 1. The writing of Amūn Mui-Khant in Text B (see below) proves that the word for 'lion', Coptic ⲙⲟⲩⲓ, was a constituent. The temple is mentioned again in Text A only in 90, 23, 26; 95, 16, of which entries the first is a *pōsh*-entry and the two latter name Hōri as himself a holder of land. That prophet is found administering *khato*-lands of Pharaoh in B § 48, and the temple to which he belonged occurs once again in B 22, 4. For the term 'regular domain' see p. 22.

§ 254 (93, 25-6)\* The [House] of Sebk-Rē, lord of Ashana (*sic*):

Domain of this house founded by Usima'rē-miamūn under the authority of Pēl, who was (formerly) major-domo.

The town of Anasha, less correctly written Ashana here and in the *pōsh*-entries 64, 19; 78, 43, while § 159 has Anashana, has been discussed in dealing with the last-named paragraph, as well as on pp. 53 f.; it was clearly a town of some importance situated not far from Tihna el-Gebel. Here seven paragraphs are devoted to lands belonging directly or indirectly to the estate of its crocodile-god Sebk-Rē or more shortly Sobk (Suchus).

The defunct or superseded major-domo Pēl has already received some attention in the comments on § 52, where it is suggested that he may have been identical with the Steward Pēl found in § 226 administering a domain of the temple of Medinet Habu; it was conjectured that in that case he might have been the predecessor of the prominent Steward of Amūn Usima'rēnakhte. In the four *pōsh*-entries (76, 5; 83, 6; 88, 21, 39) corresponding to this paragraph or the next the personal name is written  with the reversed legs  $\Delta$  found in a number of foreign place-names into which the Semitic word  $\text{ܥܠ}$  'god' has been conjectured to enter as a component, in some cases with certainty, see Burchardt, *Altkanan. Fremdworte*, Nos. 254, 330, 771, 1115, 1198; with  $\Delta$ , 604; it is curious that a personal name containing the name of the Hurrite god Teshub (Ranke, *Personennamen*, 48, 27; *JEA*, xxvii, 57, n. 5) should also be written with  $\Delta$ , as though to indicate that these alien deities were compelled to take to flight. It would thus seem that the official here was named 'the  $\text{ܥܠ}$ ', 'the god'—the name is not in Ranke, *op. cit.*; it may indicate that this major-domo was a Semite. A lacuna in the sub-heading here suggests that   $\Delta$  was written, as in the same name without P-, 55, 16; if so, this will have been a meaningless expansion of the sign  $\Delta$  on the well-known principle illustrated in my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 140, *ad fin.*

§ 255 (94, 1)\* Domain of this house founded by King Usikha'rē-setpen(rē) of this house under his authority.

The king here mentioned is Setnakhte, the father of Ramesses III; a statue of him in the town of Mentonkh is named in the heading of § 262. In the king's *prenomen* the usual *hrcw* is in both places written as *hrr*.

§ 256 (94, 9)\* Domain of this house founded by Hekma'rē-setpenamūn under the authority of the prophet Ptaḥmosē.

The temple or chapel of Ramesses IV here mentioned probably lay apart from the temple of Sebk-Rē, since it occurs a number of times in the measurement lines of this section as a point whence the position of fields was orientated, the designation there being 'Mansion of Hekma'rē-setpenamūn', see Table II, No. 109.

The prophet Ptaḥmosē is named in 82, 33; 90, 27 as in charge of donated land, and in § 64 of Text B as administering *khato*-land of Pharaoh; see further in Table III.



SMALLER TEMPLES, Anasha (*continued*)

§ 257 (94, 15)\* Regular domain of this house under his authority.

'Regular domain', see p. 22. *Pōsh*-entries corresponding to this paragraph and naming Ptaḥmosē are 83, 19; 88, 15. 33.

§ 258 (94, 33)\* Domain of this house founded by King Usima'rē-miamūn (under his authority).

That this domain is no mere repetition of § 254, where the foundation of Ramesses III has already occurred, is proved by the corresponding *pōsh*-entry in 86, 33-4, where the prophet Ptaḥmosē is explicitly named. We must assume the omission of (𓂏𓂐𓂑) in the heading here.

§ 259 (95, 1)\* Domain of this house under the authority of the second prophet Ḥōri.

This second prophet is mentioned again only in three *pōsh*-entries corresponding to the present paragraph, see 81, 29. 43; 91, 37.

§ 260 (95, 13)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

§ 261 (98, 1)\* The House of Suchus, lord of Iy-merwōtef.

The place-name here is written in a number of different ways, which might be transcribed as follows: Iy-marnaf, 81, 25; Iy-merwōtnaf, 81, 26; Iy-maryaf, 96, 28; 97, 43; Iy-maraf, 98, 11. Even the consonantal skeleton is thus subject to variation, and any vocalization that may be chosen is necessarily fanciful, though perhaps not altogether groundless. The form adopted is that to which the spelling in the heading here, if taken seriously, would seem to point, and a personal name quoted by Ranke, *Personennamen*, 9, 21 is similarly written. Reasons have been given on p. 53 why Iy-merwōtef should be sought in the vicinity of the Gebel eṭ-Ṭēr, only a few km. north of Ṭihna.

All the references to the place-name given above are taken from lines of measurement except 81, 26, which is a *pōsh*-entry mentioning an ordinary priest Psiūr. No prophet occurs, nor is there any allusion to this chapel in Text B.

§ 262 (98, 5)\* The Image of Usikha'rē-setpenrē-miamūn which is in Men'onkh.

The king here mentioned is Setnakhte (cf. § 255), and apart from the corresponding *pōsh*-entry in 76, 23 this is the only quite direct reference in the papyrus to the cult of a royal statue. The town of Men'onkh, often mentioned in the lines of measurement (Table II, No. 89), occurs elsewhere only in the Golénischeff Onomasticon, where it is placed immediately before Ḥardai (Cynopolis). Here its position is indicated more precisely, since §§ 261. 264 together show that it was no farther south than the Gebel eṭ-Ṭēr and no farther north than Es-Sirīriyah, see p. 53.

§ 263 (98, 17)\* The Sunshade of Rē-Ḥarakhti which is in this place.

Only here, except in the corresponding *pōsh*-entries 86, 45-6; 91, 30-1, where the town of Men'onkh is explicitly named.

§ 264 (98, 24)\* The House of Ḥathōr, lady of 'Akhwey, under the authority of the prophet Ḥōri.

The rock-cut chapel still survives at Es-Sirīriyah, on the East Bank some 14 km. north of the Gebel eṭ-Ṭēr, see p. 53, with n. 1. See too B § 32, where this same prophet is named, and also B 13, 6; in both places the goddess is called simply 'the Lady of 'Akhwey'.

§ 265 (98, 27)\* The House of 'Anti in U-'Anti, under the authority of the prophet Wennofrē.

This hitherto unknown place is discussed, together with its deities, on p. 52. Its position is roughly defined as lying between the temple of the Lady of 'Akhwey (§ 264) and that of Bata of Sakō (§ 268). In B § 45 the name of the prophet is Ḥōri; Wennofrē appears as a holder of land in 98, 36.

§ 266 (98, 34)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

A *pōsh*-entry corresponding to one in this paragraph, 101, 3.

§ 267 (99, 6)† The House of Ḥathōr, lady of the Two Lands, in U-'Anti.

The chapel is mentioned again only in the corresponding *pōsh*-entry 79, 10.

§ 268 (99, 11)\* The House of Bata, lord of Sakō, under the authority of the prophet Kō.

See on § 91. For the spelling of the prophet's name as Kō instead of Kanūfe see p. 50.

§ 269 (99, 22)† Apportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

§ 270 (99, 27)\* The House of Amūn, Foreteller of Victory, (administered) by the hand of the prophet Penḥasi.

In Sakō, see on § 161. The prophet Penḥasi is named again in B § 46.



SMALLER TEMPLES, Sakō (*continued*)

§ 271 (100, 1)† Appportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

§ 272 (100, 9)\* The Sunshade of Rē<sup>c</sup>-Ḥarakhti which is in Sakō.

See on § 162.

§ 273 (100, 21)† Appportioned harvest-taxes of this house under his authority.

A corresponding *pōsh*-entry in 78, 34.

§ 274 (100, 29-30)\* The House of Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-Amenḥikhopshef-miamūn:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the soldier Khons.

The two *pōsh*-entries 85, 35; 90, 24 corresponding to this paragraph have both likewise 'House' (*pr*), not 'Mansion' (*ḥwt*); a third entry of the kind (99, 4-5) is too cursively written to be used as evidence. The term 'House' and the position of this paragraph seem to forbid identification with the Theban temple of Ramesses V (§ 58), which, moreover, has already found a place in Section IV (§ 214). We have perhaps to conclude that the temple thus named was at Sakō. A similar problem arises in the case of § 275 following.

The soldier Khons is the responsible cultivator and described as such in the three *pōsh*-entries corresponding to this paragraph (85, 34; 90, 24; 99, 4); as holder of land he has the title 'soldier' in 81, 14; 82, 32. 48, but in a non-apportioning paragraph where he serves as 'cultivator' he is described only as such (72, 16). The 'soldier' Khons in two entries of Section III (58, 9; 61, 29) is possibly a different man.

§ 275 (101, 10-11)\* The House of Meneptah-hotp(ḥi)mā<sup>c</sup>ē:

Domain of this house (administered) by the hand of the soldier To.

Like the preceding House of Ramesses V, this temple may well have been a local shrine at Sakō, since Meneptah's Memphite temple ('Mansion') has occurred already in Section IV, see § 240. With this inference would agree the fact, if the reading *wtw* be correct, that the fields are administered by a simple soldier. The position of the paragraph is, of course, an important argument. The soldier To is mentioned only here.

## THE QUEEN'S HOUSE AND HAREMS.

§ 276 (101, 14-15)\* The House of the King's Wife Twertenro:

Domain of this house under the authority of the prophet Kanūfe.

Nothing is known of this queen, probably a lesser consort of Ramesses V; hitherto we have read only of the Great Wife Henwōte, §§ 109. 172. The prophet Kanūfe here is doubtless the much-mentioned prophet of Bata of Sakō, see Table III.

§ 277 (101, 19-20)|| The Harem of Memphis:

Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>, King of the Gods, Ra<sup>c</sup>messenakhte.

See on § 38, and for Ra<sup>c</sup>messenakhte, on § 111.

§ 278 (102, 1-2, Pl. 73 (A))|| [The] Harem of Mi-wēr:

Domain [of] this [house under the authority of] . . . . . Bekna[mūn?].

For this Harem see on § 39. If the name of the official here was Beknamūn, he might be the controller connected with the temple of Karnak who was named in § 208.

§ 279 (102, 5, Pl. 73 (A))|| [Domain of] this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>, King of the Gods, Ra<sup>c</sup>messenakhte.

For this Ra<sup>c</sup>messenakhte see on § 111.

The rest of col. 102 is entirely erased. To complete Section IV we require a number of paragraphs devoted to *minē*- and *khato*-land of Pharaoh; whether a col. 103 was ever written is doubtful, see p. 4.





## PART II

### TEXT B

See Pls. 1, lower part; 50 to 72



## CHAPTER I

### COMMENTARY ON TEXT B

#### 1. The general plan

TEXT B, so far as the first hand is concerned, is a simple enumeration of  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  *khato*-lands of Pharaoh lying within a limited portion of Middle Egypt. Its twenty-five pages are divided into sixty-five paragraphs, these decreasing in size gradually until the last page consists of twelve paragraphs of but two lines apiece. The principle of division resides in the name of the functionary to whom were entrusted the royal lands in question, so that every paragraph except the first, where a very short introductory title or the like formed the commencement, opens with a heading of the type

*KHATO-LAND* of Pharaoh under the authority of (title + name),

to which is sometimes added in black, always by the first hand, 'x sacks (of corn)'.

The second line of each paragraph has 'ITS FIELDS' as initial rubric, the great bulk of the paragraph being written in black. The lines following the heading—including the second, save for the rubricized beginning just mentioned—are identical in form, namely

Region of (place-name) north (or south, &c.) of (place-name), on fields of (such and such a temple or the like), arable land (*kryt*),<sup>1</sup> x arouras.

All this occupies one line in every case, so that each separate plot has a line to itself. At the end of the majority of paragraphs, and in fact absent only from § 46 onwards, is the sign  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  for 'TOTAL' written in red and placed at the beginning of a line of its own. The original scribe had thus paved the way for a summing up of all the fields at the command of each separate functionary.

The plan of Text B bears some resemblance to that of the Griffith fragments briefly described in *JEA*, xxvii, 64-70.<sup>2</sup> There too the first line of each paragraph is a heading disclosing the nature of the administrative institution to which belong the fields to be specified; there too the bulk of the paragraph consists of single lines ushered in by  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  *sw n* 'Region of' and concluding with a statement of the area; and there too a total ends most paragraphs. The main differences are (1) that whereas Text B of the Wilbour deals exclusively with *khato*-lands of Pharaoh, classified, as in Text A, according to the functionary in whose charge they stood, the Griffith fragments are concerned with temple-lands exclusively; (2) that in these fragments the total not only states the area of all the fields included in the paragraph, but also gives the amount of corn produced by them; and (3) that in the fragments a final line usually sums up the amount of corn in somewhat different terms, the opening words of the line being 'Brought to the Granary of the House of Amūn'.

The comparison just made shows at least that Text B of the Wilbour was compiled with an eye to the revenue that its fields were calculated to produce.

#### 2. The administrators of *khato*-land

These will be found in their proper sequence in the Synopsis which here, as in the description of Text A, forms the second chapter of my Commentary, but a general discussion of their functions and standing is obviously desirable as well. The Steward of Amūn Usima'rēnakhte, who was, as we have seen (p. 20), a son of the High-priest of Amūn Ra'messenakhte, was so much the most important person employed by Pharaoh to administer *khato*-land, that no less than nine pages, i.e. well over 250 entries, are devoted to the fields for which he was responsible. So numerous and widespread were the *khato*-lands administered by the same great functionary that the scribe who compiled the document saw fit to distribute them among six paragraphs, each covering a different geographic area. Consequently these first six paragraphs, conforming to a topographical principle absent from the rest, provide

<sup>1</sup> In place of 'arable land' is occasionally found 'fresh land' (*njb*), e.g. 5, 16, 18, 26, 27.

<sup>2</sup> To be published more fully and correctly in my *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, pp. 68-71.



invaluable clues to the whereabouts of the localities contained in them—clues, at least, that would be invaluable if the paragraph-headings were better preserved. Present discussion of this topic would, however, lead us away from the question on which we have already embarked, so that I now resume my survey of the various administrators.

It is surprising to find a military officer as the second most important personage in Text B. This is the standard-bearer of the Residence Merenptah, who was named as superintending *khato*-lands in §§ 44. 113 of Text A. To him are ascribed (§ 7) fifty-seven different plots, twenty-four more than are attributed in § 8 to an otherwise unknown Usima'rē'nakhte who bore the same title; a standard-bearer of Sherden Usima'rē'nakhte occurred in A 55, 7 (§ 143), but there is no ground either for or against identifying him with his namesake in B § 8.

Fifty-seven paragraphs remain to be discussed, in thirty-one of which the administrator is a prophet, not counting the Overseer of Prophets in § 9 and the five prophets of Heracleopolis found in § 18 acting corporately. Six paragraphs in a row (§§ 11–16) name mayors ( $\overline{\text{h}}\text{rty-}r$ ) of towns, the towns in question being in four cases those whose mayors Text A has shown in charge of *khato*-lands (Mi-wēr, § 12, cf. A § 45; Southern She, § 13, cf. A § 46; Spermeru, § 15, cf. A § 202; Hardai, § 16, cf. A § 115); of the remaining two, the unnamed mayor of Heracleopolis (§ 14) is not found in that capacity in Text A, while the town presided over by the mayor Muimwēse (§ 11) is not specified, but was probably the northernmost of the six, since their sequence in the southerly direction appears evident. So great a number of sacks of corn (3,000) is appended to his name that perhaps he may even have been the mayor of Memphis itself, see below, p. 182; otherwise it must have been Aphroditopolis. Another six paragraphs, in this case not consecutive (§§ 17. 19. 27. 28. 42. 44), have as their responsible agents of the Crown men bearing the title 'overseer of cattle', two being mentioned in connexion with *khato*-lands likewise in Text A, viz. Pkatja of the temple of Ramesses II in the House of Ptaḥ (§ 17, cf. A § 203) and the deceased Ra'mosē who had exercised that office at Medīnet Habu (§ 19, cf. A § 204). Of the remaining four, 'Ashaemḥab of Heracleopolis (§ 42, cf. A § 5), Setem of the Mansion of Meneptah in Memphis (§ 44, cf. A § 240) and Ḥōri of Medīnet Habu (§ 28, cf. A § 135) also occur in Text A, though not in paragraphs dealing with *khato*-lands; the deceased Pmerēḥu of § 27 appears to have been the predecessor of that Ra'messenakhte, overseer of cattle of Amen-Rē', King of the Gods, who plays a rather prominent part in Text A (see in the Synopsis on A § 111). The seven 'controllers' (*rwḏw*) of §§ 54–7, 59–61 would have formed an unbroken series but for the intrusion of a prophet of the House of Ptaḥ in § 58. Only one of them, namely Usiḥē of Karnak (§ 54, cf. A § 209), is mentioned elsewhere in the papyrus. Most appear to have been attached to the temple-estates of the capitals<sup>1</sup>—to the estate of Amūn in §§ 54–5, to that of Rē' in §§ 60–1, and to that of Ptaḥ in § 57; it seems possible, though not specifically stated, that the Ḥōri of § 56 may have been an official of the temple of Osiris at Abydos;<sup>2</sup> another controller of the same name (§ 59) is much more difficult to place, being said to belong to 'the House of 'O-nakhtu', a name known only as the original designation of the Delta Residence of Ramesses II, which is a most unlikely attribution here.

Other officials to whose administration of *khato*-lands Text B devotes paragraphs are the anonymous Overseer of the King's Apartments, doubtless at Mi-wēr (§ 21, cf. A § 48; *minē*-land, A § 41), and the overseer of fields of the Southern Province<sup>3</sup> named Ḥatiay (§ 10); the former was probably a man of

<sup>1</sup> The brief designations 'House of Amūn', &c., do not enable us to judge whether the central and original temples of those gods were meant, or only subsidiary sanctuaries; in the Synopsis of Text A, under § E (p. 125), it was shown to be likely that 'House of Rē' might be an abbreviated way of referring to the temple of Ramesses II at Heliopolis.

<sup>2</sup> The heading does not mention any temple, but in the following line (25, 6) the *khato*-lands under this Ḥōri are said to have been 'on fields of Osiris'. However, on p. 168 below, I incline to the view that this Osiris was a purely local deity.

<sup>3</sup> Exactly the same title was borne by Paḥeri at the beginning of Dyn. XVIII, and it is clear that his duties included the inspection of all Upper Egyptian fields and of their yield, not

only in corn, but also, rather surprisingly, in cattle, see *Urk.*, IV, 124–5. The overseer of fields evidently had to see that the boundaries of fields were not falsified (Nauri Decree, 50–1), and if his title is intended by the writing  $\overline{\text{h}}\text{rty-}r$  in the Duties of the Vizier (*Urk.*, IV, 1110, 13; in support, cf. 1120, 2 with 1129, 2 and the titles of Senenmut, Cairo 579), we there learn more about his functions. In the Middle Kingdom the measurements seem to have been deposited in his office, *JEA*, xxvii, 75. Perhaps, however, it was the Overseer of Granaries who was responsible for the deliveries of the corn-tax, see particularly the inscriptions of Kha'emḥē, Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1122–3, and the overseer of fields had to attend only to the actual fields and the carrying out of the work there.



exalted station, since he could be referred to without being named, and the title of the latter likewise proclaims him to have belonged to the highest bureaucracy. The Steward of Amūn (see above) cuts so conspicuous a figure in Text B, that it is not surprising to find in § 24 the 'Steward of the House of Ptaḥ', by name Raṯemuia. Isolated is the Amenḥotpe of § 63, who receives the title 'scribe of the House of Amūn', by which a local temple may be meant where Amūn bore the epithet 'Manifold of Brave Deeds', see the Synopsis *ad loc.*; and no opportunity is given us of learning the bureaucratic rank of 'Raṯmessemḥab of Memphis', mentioned in § 20.

It is not to be imagined that all the dignitaries above enumerated themselves superintended the practical details of the royal charge laid upon them. Only in a few cases, however, is a partner or subordinate named as entrusted with the execution of this task. The great Usimaṯrēnakhte had as assistants the scribe Pbēs (§ 3) and the deputy Ḥōri (§ 5), neither of them identifiable with persons in Text A bearing those common names. The mayor of Mi-wēr had at his elbow the district-scribe Pentwēre (§ 12), while his colleague at Heracleopolis (§ 14) was aided by the scribe Sebkḥotpe. If a lacuna in the heading of § 9 has been rightly filled, two scribes were required to represent the anonymous Overseer of Prophets. When in § 26 the prophet Sunero is found acting for the prophet Amenemuia, we may perhaps guess the latter to have been an older man who needed the help of a junior.

The administration of *khato*-lands by prophets has been left to the last, since here it is impossible altogether to exclude the discussion of localities, a subject that will be continued in the following sections. By way of preface it may be pointed out how natural it was that Pharaoh should employ the leading priests of provincial temples to look after his interests in their respective neighbourhoods. Not only would they be well acquainted with local conditions and the rural population, but also their sacerdotal authority could be brought to bear on recalcitrant farmers or farm-labourers with even greater effect, perhaps, than the authority of the provincial mayors. The practice of employing priests for this purpose receives striking confirmation from a Turin papyrus relating to the taxation and transport of corn (*JEA*, xxvii, 22 ff.) which its title-page describes as a 'Document of receipts of corn of *khato*-land of Pharaoh from the hands of the prophets [of the temples of Upper Egypt]'. So too in a model letter<sup>1</sup> a prophet of the House of Seth at a place called Punodjem complains bitterly of the taxation laid upon him as administrator both of his own temple-lands and also of the *khato*-lands in his charge. The passage does not explicitly mention corn, but only silver, i.e. the money-value of whatever produce he might have had to deliver. None the less the relevant portion is well worth quoting. The addressee is a 'steward', but whether or not a steward of Pharaoh remains obscure:

'When my letter reaches you, you shall go with the standard-bearer Ptaḥemmain and report to the Vizier concerning the excessive money which the retainer Iay bids me give, for it is by no means my (just) tax. (Do this) after having taken to the South a copy in [writing] of the money and revenue, and lay it before the Vizier and say to him he shall not tax (me for) people (?), for I have no people, but the ship is in my charge and the House of Nephthys is in my charge.<sup>2</sup> Now, behold, the bulk of temples which are in the neighbourhood<sup>3</sup> are not like mine.<sup>4</sup> I am afflicted exceedingly. The extremity of affliction is put upon me. But behold, man is like (that) today (?).<sup>5</sup> And speak to different persons<sup>6</sup> there concerning the excessive order (to sow)<sup>7</sup> placed upon me considering (the size of)<sup>8</sup> the House of Seth and the (amount of) *khato*-land of Pharaoh under my authority. Behold, (these are) small.<sup>9</sup> Further, do not stay your hand together with the standard-bearer Ptaḥemmain.'

Passing now in review the names of the prophets mentioned in Text B<sup>9</sup> we encounter first of all a number of old friends from Text A. Such are Ḥuy of Spermeru (§ 23, cf. A § 92), Penḥasi of the

<sup>1</sup> *P. Bologna 1094*, 5, 8—7, 1 = *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 5—6. The translation by Erman in his *Literatur der Ägypter*, 254—5 (= trans. Blackman, 200—1) shows considerable differences from my own, which admits to much greater freedom. There are several difficult sentences, but it is clear that the whole is concerned with an excessive burden of taxation, a point not recognized by Erman, at all events not as regards the last lines.

<sup>2</sup> Very obscure. At Spermeru and probably also at Su we have found a temple of Nephthys associated with one of Seth.

<sup>3</sup> Soon after the publication of my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* Herr Wilke pointed out that my critical note there is at fault.

For *m sw* see *Anast. V*, 3, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'like myself'. This doubtless means that they are much better treated.

<sup>5</sup> Very doubtful.

<sup>6</sup> *Ky ky*, lit. 'another (and) another'.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. 'appointment', 'ordaining' (of seed). For the phrase *ts prt* see above, pp. 113 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *M fto n*, lit. 'in value of' or the like. As a rule this expression means 'suitable for' or 'adapted to', but I believe it to be really impartial in sense, so that in the present context it would in effect mean 'unsuited for', 'out of proportion to'.

<sup>9</sup> See Table III for further details.



Chapel of Mont which is in the Village of Inroyshes (§ 29, cf. A 29, 20), Kanūfe and Penhasi at Sakō (§ 46, cf. A §§ 91, 270), Ptaḥmosē at Anasha (§ 64, cf. A § 256), the two Hōri's belonging respectively to the cults of Amūn Mui-Khant (§ 48, cf. A § 253) and of Hāthōr, lady of 'Akhwey (§ 32, cf. A § 264), probably also that Sunero (§ 26) who was a prophet at Crocodilopolis (A § 14), and lastly Manenūfe of the temple at Opē of Amūn, Founder of the Earth (§ 43), who in Text A (39, 17) received only the title of 'cultivator'. In a few cases the prophetship seems to have changed hands in the interval separating the writing of the two texts, unless in one of them it is a prophet of lower position, not the chief prophet, who holds the responsible post: thus for the Sunshade of Rēc-Harakhti at She Text A (§ 26) has Amenkha<sup>c</sup> as prophet, Text B (§ 35) substituting Henūfe; similarly for the temple of Nephthys at Spermeru, Text A names the prophet Merybarsē (A § 206), while Text B (§ 30) has a certain Penpmer; and again at U-'Anti, Text A (§ 265) ascribes authority to one Wennefrē, while Text B (§ 45) gives Hōri. So too § 25 assigns to Suchus of Crocodilopolis a prophet Ra'messeusikhōpesh barely known to Text A, and it is highly probable that the Piu of § 62, mentioned only as a 'prophet of Suchus', belonged to Anasha, like Ptaḥmosē (§ 64) cited above, who was only prophet in the local temple of Ramesses IV at the time when Text A was written (A § 256). It must be emphasized that the administration of *khato*-lands was a personal charge, not one laid upon temples as corporations, though in B § 18 five prophets of Heracleopolis share the responsibility, and in both § 26 and § 46 two names are combined. In Text A most headings refer to temples, and it is only when the administration of the temple-property was split up into several domains (*rmnyt*) that individual administrators come into view. Consequently Text A does not present the same opportunity for the mention of prophets as Text B, and we cannot be surprised to receive from the latter text new accessions to our collection of names, as at Khant-'Aru (§ 53, cf. A § 11), in the Sunshade at Heracleopolis—here Text B has two prophets, each with his own separate paragraph (§§ 39, 65, cf. A § 7)—in the Sunshade of the Keep of 'Onayna (§ 47, cf. A § 101), and at Tjayna (§ 41, cf. A § 97).

More interesting, however, are the references to cults not recorded in Text A, though the place-names do occur there in one connexion or another, and still more interesting are the allusions to cults in places not hitherto mentioned at all. To the former category belong the prophets of Hāthōr of Aphroditopolis (§ 34), of Anubis of Cynopolis (Harsperu, i.e. Hārdai, § 22), and of the temple of Ra'messe-miamūn in P-tjesy-Hu (§ 37, see below, p. 177, n. 2). In the latter category are to be classed two temples familiar from external sources, but for some reason omitted from Text A. The temple of Seth of  $\text{𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏}$  Su (§ 52) might well have had a paragraph there, particularly if, as seems certain, it was his consort Nephthys who is named in A § 28. As regards Horus of  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒}$  H-nesu (§ 51), the site of whose worship was El-Kōm el-Aḥmar Sawāris, south of Shārūnah, on the East Bank, we had occasion to discuss this deity in connexion with the question of Hārdai (Cynopolis), which may have lain some 8–10 km. farther south (p. 52); if this Horus and his town are omitted from Text A, it is doubtless because their fields lay outside the four zones covered by that text. The same holds good too of the Amūn of the well-known site of  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒}$  Meydūm (§ 50), over 25 km. to the north-east of Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb (Mi-wēr); excavations on that site have, so far as I am aware, revealed no trace of a temple of Amūn. Four other local cults of the same deity are named, Amūn  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒}$  '(of the) Harbour' (§ 31), Amūn  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒}$  'Overthrower of His Attacker' (§ 36), Amūn  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒}$  '(of) Pi-Ōn' (§ 38) and Amūn 'Manifold of Brave Deeds' (§ 63) already mentioned (p. 163, top).<sup>1</sup> To the location of these the only clues we possess consist of the names of the places where their prophets (in § 63 it was only a scribe) superintended *khato*-lands of Pharaoh, for it must be assumed that those prophets would be concerned only with fields fairly near at hand. In the case of § 31 all that can be inferred is that the chapel of Amūn of the Harbour lay on the edge of the Western desert fairly far to the north—perhaps opposite the northern part of the Fayyūm.<sup>2</sup> The *khato*-lands in the charge of the prophet

<sup>1</sup> In the four local cults of Amūn here named I have not included the well-known Amūn Mui-Khant of § 48 (at Tihna, p. 54, n. 1) nor yet one mentioned only among the indications of locality, the 'House of Amūn of P-u-ṓ' (B 9, 16, 20, &c.).

<sup>2</sup> This results only from the occurrence of the Pi-Hes of 22,

19 also in § 4 (6, 12), for the range of which see below, p. 176, and from the occurrence of 'the New Land of Seth' (22, 17, 18) with the epithet 'on the Western Flank' in § 33, where the prophet in question belongs to a temple which we have reason to believe was in the Heracleopolite nome, see next page at top.








Let it be recalled, in conclusion, that two officials mentioned in Text A as dead or as no longer in office are not so represented in Text B. These are (1) the overseer of cattle Hōri, who was an official of the temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu (A § 135; B § 28), and (2) Neferabē, the mayor of Hārdai (A 56, 46-7; B § 16). An explanation of this already noted fact is attempted below, pp. 183 f.

### 3. The *khato*-lands of Pharaoh in Text A and elsewhere

Seven paragraphs of Text A deal with  $\text{𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏}$  'minē-lands of Pharaoh', which are placed under precisely the same officials and priests as the *khato*-lands (A §§ 40–3, 198–200). Text B has no references to this problematical category, and mentions elsewhere are exceedingly rare. One deals with the flight of slaves from *minē*-land owing to ill-treatment from a certain 'stable-master', so that the fields could not be cultivated; another includes the same kind of land among those varieties which are to be ceded on demand to another 'stable-master'. The two passages here alluded to have been translated *in extenso* above, p. 78 f. The only other examples quoted by the Berlin Dictionary (II, 43, 13–15) and there entered as separate words (1) Kind of sheet of water ('*Art Gewässer*') and (2) Property in land ('*Landgut*') come respectively from the extreme ends of our textual material, from the Pyramid Texts (857) and

<sup>2</sup> The earliest pronunciation was probably something like Edjöyet, see my remarks *JEA*, xxx, 55.

<sup>1</sup> The hieratic appears to give , but 'of Ro-bast' makes no sense, and the signs  are uncommonly like , see B 16, 18; 24, 11. As remarked in my note on the transcription (B 23, 25, note *a*), I do not think  a probable reading of the signs as they stand; perhaps the scribe of B misunderstood his original, which may actually have had .



the Ptolemaic temples; in these examples the meaning appears general and untechnical, referring to plots that were well-watered and susceptible of cultivation. An etymology from  $\text{𓄏} \text{min}$  'to-day' is not improbable. The Wilbour papyrus throws no fresh light on this variety of Royal property, except to indicate that it was closely akin to *khato*-lands and similarly administered.

This seems a suitable place to deal philologically with the expression  $\text{𓄏} \text{h-t}$ , var.  $\text{𓄏} \text{h-n-t}$ ,<sup>1</sup> and to collect whatever other references to 'khato-land of Pharaoh' are known from sources external to the Wilbour papyrus. The term means literally 'thousand of land', and was used primarily as a field-measure equivalent to 10 arouras, or a plot  $10 \times 100 = 1000$  cubits long by 100 cubits deep. Griffith has written an excellent note on its use in this sense during the Old and Middle Kingdoms (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XIV, 415), to which I have nothing to add except two isolated Ramesside examples. The more certain of these is in a Karnak inscription referring to the High-priest Amenhotpe, to whom Ramesses IX gave as a favour, through the Overseer of Granaries of Pharaoh,  $\text{𓄏} \text{h-t}$  '20 arouras of corn-land . . . which shall be [for] his regular use every year'.<sup>2</sup> The gift seems very meagre when compared with the gifts of 10,000 arouras which the Ptolemies were accustomed to give to their favourites.<sup>3</sup> The other is in *Harris*, 27, 12, where Ramesses III says to the god of Heliopolis, 'I made for thee  $\text{𓄏} \text{h-t}$  thousands of land anew in pure barley; I increased<sup>4</sup> their fields which had decayed in order to increase by a great amount the offerings to thy great noble beloved name'. Breasted here renders 'domains', and as Brugsch<sup>5</sup> had half-realized (*Wörterbuch*, 1039-40) and Griffith (*loc. cit.*) definitely knew, some such vaguer sense of the word was common in Ptolemaic times<sup>6</sup> (cf. *mint* above) and is not altogether excluded in the passage from the great *Harris* papyrus; even earlier, the same vague sense is found in a love-song where the beloved compares herself to the  $\text{𓄏} \text{h-t}$  'plot' which she had planted with all manner of sweet-scented flowers (*P. Harris* 500, rt. 7, 7). Spiegelberg,<sup>7</sup> however, was the first to recognize that  $\text{𓄏} \text{h-t}$  'khato-land of Pharaoh' is a technical term of the Egyptian administration, though in proposing the rendering *Krongut* he overlooked the fact, apparent from *Sallier I*, 9, 6-7 (in the passage translated *in extenso* above, p. 78), that it is only one out of several varieties of Royal land. Of the few other passages outside the Wilbour papyrus where this technical term has been found,<sup>8</sup> all except *Sallier I*, 4, 11 ff. have been translated either in the present work or in my recent article on the taxation and transport of corn. To complete the evidence, I now give a rendering of the passage just mentioned. It occurs in a rather corrupt model letter giving a report on various agricultural matters. After a reference to the care that has been taken of the horses, the writer continues:<sup>9</sup>

'One is engaged in gathering the harvest of the *khato*-land of Pharaoh which is under the authority of my Lord (i.e. the addressee) in excellent manner and in fine bulk.<sup>10</sup> I am writing down the asses (employed for ?)<sup>11</sup> the corn which is being reaped daily and I am arranging<sup>12</sup> their burdens for them, (the corn) being laid (on ?) the threshing-floor, and I am causing a threshing-platform to be set up (for the ?) asses of the corn, 400.'

The last sentence is extremely obscure and my version very doubtful, but the passage as a whole shows that these particular *khato*-lands were being cultivated, not merely leased or superintended, by the functionary in whose charge they lay; as in the Turin papyrus, they were under corn, which was

<sup>1</sup> *Sallier I*, 4, 11; 9, 7; *P. Harris* 500, 7, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> That *h(t)* here has its less precise meaning seems clear from *m rht* *h(t)* following. Breasted renders 'doubled their lands . . . to double the offerings in numerous lists', but apart from the poor sense, *Wb.* II, 449, 2 has quoted good examples of *m rht* *h(t)* with the meaning 'in great number'.

<sup>5</sup> He, however, connected the element *h* with the verb 'to measure' and rendered 'abgemessenes Land'.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, I, 466, II; 581, IV; Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, 61, a, 11; III, 20, s.

<sup>7</sup> *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I*, p. 34, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> For the examples in the Turin Taxation papyrus see my *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 36, 3. 7. 14, all translated *JEA.*, XXVII, 23 f., and the first of them above, p. 163, which see also for *P. Bologna* 1094, 6. 10.

<sup>9</sup> For the text see my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 81. For a translation by Guieysse see *Revue égyptologique*, VI (1891), 27.

<sup>10</sup> Lit. 'collection'; for *mey* see farther down, 5, 2.

<sup>11</sup> It would be more natural to render simply 'and the corn', but the words 'for them' following in the next sentence are an obstacle.

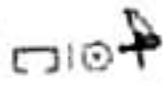
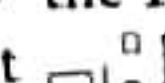
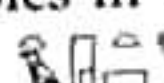
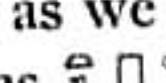
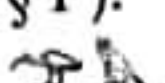
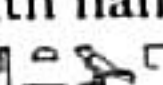
<sup>12</sup> Lit. 'causing to make for them their carrying', *hdt* being from the most ancient times the term used for the transport by means of asses from field to threshing-floor, see *Wb.*, IV, 560, 12 and Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*, 182; for another Ramesside example of this use see *P. Ch. Beatty V*, rt. 6, 2.







to account for 'House of Amūn (on) the West of Thebes' (21, 18), unless together with 'The Mansion (on) the West of Thebes' (3, 23; 4, 3; 16, 1)<sup>1</sup> it be yet another way of referring to Medīnet Habu.<sup>2</sup>

Similar ambiguity arises over the extremely frequent  'the House of Rē' (e.g. 2, 8; 3, 10; 4, 6; at least fifty times in all) and the considerably less frequent  'the House of Ptah' (e.g. 4, 7; 6, 19; 7, 16). Do these always refer to the original temples of Rē-Harakhti (Synopsis of Text A, under § E) and of Ptah, South of His Wall (*ibid.*, under § 80), at Heliopolis and Memphis respectively? Some temples in both those capitals are at least sometimes differentiated in an unmistakable way. At Heliopolis  'The Mansion in the House of Rē' (7, 17; 11, 24; 22, 17), as we have learnt from Text A (Synopsis, under § 76), was a foundation of Ramesses II, and so too was  'The Mansion Beloved like Rē' (e.g. 7, 4. 22; eleven times in all; see Synopsis of Text A, at beginning under § F). Unknown to Text A and indeed altogether new is a doubtless Heliopolitan sanctuary called  'Finding a place in the House of Rē' (12, 21. 31); perhaps this was a foundation due to Ramesses III, since he built both at Memphis<sup>3</sup> and at Thebes<sup>4</sup> new temples with names that are identical but for the replacement of 'Rē' by 'Ptah' and 'Amūn'. So too in Memphis  'Great Seat in the House of Ptah', familiar from Text A (Synopsis, § 3A), occurs seven times in Text B (e.g. 11, 6; 15, 11. 12). The two separate sanctuaries founded by Meneptah in Memphis are both distinctly mentioned, the one of them being named 'the Mansion of Meneptah in the House of Ptah' (8, 4, cf. A § 240 and B § 44), and the other being called 'the House of Ptah of Meneptah' (13, 7, cf. A § 232,<sup>5</sup> where 'of Ra'messe-miamūn' is curiously added). The Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn (A § 149), of which Pkatja was the overseer of cattle, is referred to as 'The Mansion in the House of Ptah' in § 17, but that does not occur after *hr šwt*. Similar doubts arise in connexion with 'House of Osiris' in 9, 2. This might conceivably allude to the original temple at Abydos, but there are other and more likely possibilities: the temple of that deity at Khant-Aru is explicitly named after *hr šwt* in 6, 4, as well as in the heading of § 53 (cf. A § 11), and it is possible that 9, 2 likewise refers to this; and further, in 25, 6 there is a 'House of Osiris' which appears, from the name of the locality preceding it, to have been situated in a place called 'the Pylon of the House of Osiris'. Abydos appears, however, to be mentioned in 11, 4, where 'The Mansion in Abydos' must mean the famous temple of Sethos I (A § 88); another example of the same abbreviation is probably also 7, 3, though there the name of Abydos would be unidentifiable without the mediating writing of 11, 4.<sup>6</sup> In three places we find 'on fields of the Sunshade' without further definition, though in two others (13, 4; 19, 22) the addition of Harsperu (i.e. Hardai) removes ambiguity; fortunately the context in 16, 22 makes it clear that Harsperu is meant, while in 23, 22; 25, 24 Heracleopolis is no less clearly indicated.

To return again to the Theban temples, no perplexity is occasioned by 'the House of Haremhab in the House of Amūn' (14, 10. 19), since here the buildings of that king at Karnak are obviously meant, see on A § 70. In 8, 25 a 'House of Ra'messe-miamūn' occurs without further addition, and so too it may have been in 3, 20; 5, 4, where a lacuna follows;<sup>7</sup> we may assume that the reference is to the great Hypostyle Hall and its surroundings at Karnak, that in fact we must supply in thought the adjunct 'in the House of Amūn' (cf. A § 117). An isolated and damaged entry (3, 8) of the type here under consideration appears to name 'the House of the Adoratress of the God in the House of Amūn', for which see my note *JEA*, xxvii, 69; this, however, was not a temple, but the house in which the great priestess in question lived. Readers may have observed that Text B, so far as we have hitherto examined it, has paid explicit attention neither to Ramesses IV nor to Ramesses V. That the original compilation of this text belonged to the reign of one of those two kings may be deduced from the fact that its *personnel* is so much the same as that of Text A. Now in Text B we find 'on fields of Pharaoh' well over fifty times (e.g. 3, 24. 27; 4, 5. 10. 13), and the possibility that this might be a shortening of 'on fields of the Mansion of' either Ramesses IV (cf. A § 60) or Ramesses V (cf. A § 58) ought not

<sup>1</sup> In both 21, 18 and 16, 1 a meaningless *m* stands between *imntt* and *W'st*.

<sup>2</sup> I return to this question again below, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Harris, 51, a, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Nelson, *Karnak*, 42, E; 51, C.

<sup>5</sup> In Text A this is placed in the Theban series, but there are grounds for believing it was at Memphis, see the Synopsis, under § 232.

<sup>6</sup> For 7, 3 see the Corrections in this volume to Pl. 54 A.

<sup>7</sup> In 5, 9 there is another difficulty.



to be rejected out of hand. In one red additional line (19, 16) we do actually seem to have had 'on fields of The [Mansion of] Pharaoh', though the cursive character of the writing and a lacuna make far from certain this reference to the funerary temple in course of building on the West side of Thebes for the still living king, see p. 10, with n. 1. It will be remembered, moreover, that 'fields of Pharaoh' was found in Text A in certain paragraphs closely associated with the Landing-places of Pharaoh (see above, p. 18), and that fact has also to be taken into consideration. In sum, without the help of some new method of investigation 'fields of Pharaoh' in Text B has to remain an unanswered riddle.

### 5. Comparison with the *khato*-land paragraphs of Text A

In point of fact, another possibility of combinations exists which must not be left untried. A little testing will make it evident that some of the *khato*-lands of Text B are mentioned also in those paragraphs of Text A which relate to the same class of lands, and a certain number of the entries in the last-named paragraphs are accompanied by *pōsh*-entries which may name the temples and other institutions on which lay the fields in question. That we are here on the track of a valuable source of information can be shown by a single example. In B 10, 16 we read of a piece of *khato*-land 'north of the backland [of S]ma'a (in) P-shen-Temḥu (on) fields of the House of Thoth of Pi-Wadjoi', and this occurs in § 7 where the administrator of the Royal lands it enumerates is the standard-bearer Merenptah. Now A §§ 44. 113 deal with *khato*-lands under the control of the same officer, and in § 113 the one plot mentioned is localized at the same place as that of B 10, 16, and there is a *pōsh*-entry of Type A naming the House of Thoth of P-Wadjoi, to which the corresponding entry of Type B is found in § 90 devoted to the fields of the temple here named—the exact reference is A 38, 9–10. It is true that Text A mentions 20 arouras, and Text B only 3 arouras, with a red addition of 10 arouras. But this discrepancy is of no great importance, for we shall see later on that the *khato*-lands were constantly changing in area, and it must be remembered that though Text A and Text B are not widely separated in date, it is clear that they cannot be exactly contemporary. Unhappily the statements of locality do not always agree in cases where a correspondence between Text A and Text B seems probable, but at least in some cases a wrong orientation may have been mere carelessness on the part of the scribe.

Among the problems we shall seek to test by this method are (a) the meaning of 'fields of Pharaoh' already discussed in preliminary fashion under 4 above, (b) the meaning of 'on fields of this house' (𓂏𓂏 *pr pn*) which is very frequent in Text B, as is also the use of 'this house' in Text A, (c) what follows 'on fields of' in Text B when there is no *pōsh*-entry in Text A, and (d) whether any of the above-mentioned abbreviations receive explanation from this new method of comparison. In order to display my results the more simply I shall omit the indications of locality, which the reader can verify for himself, nor shall I name the administrator in the headings, nor yet adhere to the order of either Text A or Text B. To economize space use will be made of a few obvious contractions like H. for House, M. for Mansion, V. for Village, l. for lord.

The following examples agree in all essentials with the example to be reckoned as No. 1, used above by way of introducing this subject.

TEXT A					TEXT B	
Par.	Meas. line	<i>Pōsh</i> A	<i>Pōsh</i> B	Par.-heading governing the <i>pōsh</i> -entry	Par.	'on fields of'
(2) § 47	20, 38 <sup>1</sup>	(H. of) Arsaphes	6, 19	§ 4. H. of Arsaphes, &c.	§ 18 <sup>2</sup>	18, 6. H. of Arsaphes
(3) § 114 <sup>3</sup>	43, 17	H. of Seth, l. of [Pi-]Wayna	40, 8	§ 99. H. of Seth, l. of Pi-Wayna	§ 9	13, 9 = 23, 26. H. of Seth
(4) § 201 <sup>4</sup>	73, 5	M. of Pharaoh	46, 3	§ 122. M. of Us. (Ram. V) in H. of Amūn	§ 2	3, 24 (on fields) of Pharaoh
(5) § 207	74, 35	Amūn Tjay[ef] (in) the V. of Tjayef	64, 37	§ 170. H. of Amūn Tjay(ef), &c.	§ 41	23, 32. H. of Amūn Tjayna

<sup>1</sup> In order to facilitate checking in Text B reference is given to the line of measurement, not to the *pōsh*-entry falling under it.

<sup>2</sup> The heading in Text B refers to five prophets, not to the Nūfe alone mentioned by Text A.

<sup>3</sup> See the Corrections below to Pl. 19 A.

<sup>4</sup> Text A, § 201, or rather § 200, attributes this plot and several others mentioned below to the Chief Taxing-master, while Text B, § 2, allots them to the Steward Usima'rē'nakhte, who is consequently in all probability the same person, see Synopsis of Text A, under §§ 52. 201.



The following examples likewise agree, but here either the *pōsh* B entry is itself lost, or else the heading under which it falls is missing.

TEXT A (continued)					TEXT B (continued)	
Par.	Meas. line	<i>Pōsh</i> A	<i>Pōsh</i> B	Par.-heading governing the <i>pōsh</i> -entry	Par.	'on fields of'
(6) § 44	20, 9	H. of Rē <sup>c</sup>	—	<i>pōsh</i> -entry lost with beginning of Section I	§ 7	10, 7. H. of Rē <sup>c</sup>
(7) § 45	20, 21	Gr. Seat in H. of Ptaḥ	2, x+14	[§ 3 A. Heading lost]	§ 12	15, 11. Gr. Seat in H. of Ptaḥ
(8) § 45	20, 31	Gr. Seat in H. of Ptaḥ	2, x+6	[§ 3 A. Heading lost]	§ 12	15, 12. Gr. Seat in H. of Ptaḥ
(9) § 48	21, 5	M. of Us. (Ram. III) in H. of Amūn	—	<i>pōsh</i> -entry lost with beginning of Section I	§ 21	19, 15. <sup>1</sup> M. of Us. (Ram. III) in H. of Amūn

In some cases a slight complication is introduced by the fact that 'this house' (abbrev. 'th. h.') is substituted in Text B for the name of a temple. Examination shows that the next preceding mention of a temple agrees with that in the *pōsh*-entry, Type A, of Text A; if that next preceding mention chances to be in the paragraph-heading, then § is added to the reference to page and line.

(10. 11) § 44	20, 6. 12	H. of Rē <sup>c</sup>	—	<i>pōsh</i> -entries lost with beginning of Section I	§ 7	10, 4. 5 th. h. = H. of Rē <sup>c</sup> , 10, 3
(12-14) § 47	20, 41. 44; 21, 1 <sup>1</sup>	th. h. = H. of Arsaphes, 20, 40	6, 12. 15. 17	§ 4. H. of Arsaphes, &c.	§ 18	18, 10. 11. <sup>1</sup> 15 th. h. = H. of Arsaphes, 18, 6 (p. 169, n. 2)
(15) § 116 <sup>2</sup>	43, 26 <sup>3</sup>	H. of Nephthys	39, 14	§ 94. H. of Neph. of Ram. (II) wh. is in th. h. (= Seth of Spermeru, § 92)	§ 30	22, 12 th. h. = H. of Neph., 22, 10 (§)
? (16) § 201 <sup>4</sup>	72, 37 <sup>5</sup>	M. of Pharaoh	46, 38	§ 122. M. of Us. (Ram. V) in H. of Amūn	§ 2	3, 26 th. h. = (on fields) of Pharaoh, 3, 24
(17) § 203	73, 41	in lacuna	59, 16	§ 149. M. of R. (II) in H. of Ptaḥ	§ 17 <sup>6</sup>	17, 28 th. h. = H. of Ptaḥ, 17, 27
? (18) § 203	74, 1 <sup>7</sup>	M. of Ram. (II) in H. of Ptaḥ	58, 13	§ 146. H. of Ptaḥ, South of His Wall <sup>8</sup>	§ 17	17, 30 th. h. = H. of Ptaḥ, 17, 27
(19) § 205	74, 12	H. of Seth, l. of Spermeru	63, 46	§ 163. H. of Seth, l. of Spermeru	§ 23	19, 29 th. h. = H. of Seth, l. of Spermeru, 19, 28 (§)

There occur, however, a few passages where the *pōsh*-entries of Text A and the indication of Text B do not agree.

? (20) § 45	20, 28 <sup>9</sup>	M. of Us. (Ram. III)	—	<i>pōsh</i> -entry lost with beginning of Section I	§ 12	15, 20? 21? th. h. = Landing-place of Pharaoh in Mi-wēr, 15, 17
? (21) <sup>10</sup> § 201	73, 9	H. of Thoth . . . (in) Na-Us. (Ram. III)	54, 44	§ 140. H. of Thoth . . . (in) Na-Us. (Ram. III)	§ 2	3, 26. th. h. = (on fields) of Pharaoh, 3, 24
(22) § 205	74, 19	H. of Seth	63, 41	§ 163. H. of Seth, l. of Spermeru	§ 23	20, 4. M. Beloved like Rē <sup>c</sup>
(23) § 205	74, 25	th. h. = H. of Seth, 74, 21	63, 38	§ 163. H. of Seth, l. of Spermeru	§ 23	20, 3. th. h. = H. of Rē <sup>c</sup> , 20, 2
(24) § 206	74, 31	M. of Ram. (II) in H. of Rē <sup>c</sup>	57, 14	§ 145. M. of Ram. (II) in H. of Rē <sup>c</sup>	§ 30	22, 13. th. h. = H. of Nephthys, 22, 10 (§)

To complete the record it may be added that the *khato*-paragraphs of Text A contain six entries with *pōsh*-entries attached to them of which no mention is made in Text B. These occur after the lines of measurement 21, 9. 13; 72, 37 or else 73, 9, see above, Nos. 16. 21; 73, 14. 23.

<sup>1</sup> See the Corrigenda to this Text volume.

<sup>2</sup> Text A names the prophet of the temple Merybarsē, while Text B has Penpmer.

<sup>3</sup> This plot of 30 arouras appears to have been erroneously repeated by the scribe in 74, 29-30, but is there unaccompanied by any *pōsh*-entry. See No. 40 below.

<sup>4</sup> Text A, § 201, attributes this plot, No. 4 above, and Nos. 21. 30. 31. 32 below to the Chief Taxing-master, while Text B, § 2, allots them to the Steward Usima'rē'nakhte, who must surely be the same person, see Synopsis of Text A, under §§ 52. 201.

<sup>5</sup> This example is doubtful, since the locality in Text A is only approximately identical with that in Text B. The latter is completely identical with A 73, 9, where, however, the *pōsh*-

entry is quite unsuitable. See No. 21 below.

<sup>6</sup> Note that the heading of B § 17 assigns the overseer of cattle Pkatja to 'The Mansion in the House of Ptaḥ'; the same abbreviation, analogous to that for Medīnet Habu demonstrated by Černý, is found again for the Mansion of Ra'messe-miamūn in the House of Ptaḥ in the *pōsh*-entry A 51, 11.

<sup>7</sup> The orientation differs in all three cases: *pōsh* A has NW., *pōsh* B has N., Text B has E.

<sup>8</sup> Note the divergence here of *pōsh* A and *pōsh* B.

<sup>9</sup> The indication of locality is too brief to admit of a choice between the two possibilities of correspondence in Text B.

<sup>10</sup> This is the alternative to No. 16 above; see n. 5 on this page.



Before drawing conclusions from the facts above collected it will be well to study those *khato*-entries in Text A which have no *pōsh*-entries, but appear to correspond to entries in Text B.

TEXT A		TEXT B	
Par.	L. of measurement	Par.	'on fields of'
(25) § 45	20, 17	§ 12	15, 8. Landing-pl. of Pharaoh (in) Mi-wēr
(26) § 45	20, 24	§ 12	15, 10. Pharaoh
(27) § 45	20, 26	§ 12	15, 13. (Various) temples
(28) § 46	20, 35	§ 13	16, 6. Pharaoh
(29) § 115	43, 23	§ 16	17, 14. Pharaoh
? (30) <sup>1</sup> § 201	72, 35	§ 21	3, 22. th. h. = [H.] of Ra'messe-miamūn, 3, 20
? (31) <sup>1</sup> § 201	72, 40	§ 21	
? (32) § 201	73, 12 <sup>2</sup>	§ 2	3, 25. th. h. = Pharaoh, 3, 24
(33) § 202	73, 31	§ 15	16, 23. th. h. = Sunshade (Spermeru), 16, 22
(34) § 202	73, 33 <sup>3</sup>	§ 15	16, 28. th. h. = Sunshade (Spermeru), 16, 22
(35) § 202	73, 35	§ 15	17, 11. th. h. = Landing-place of Pharaoh (in) Keep of 'Onayna, 17, 10
? (36) § 204	74, 6 <sup>4</sup>	§ 19	18, 19. Food for white goats of The M. in H. of Amūn
? (37) § 204	74, 8 <sup>5</sup>	§ 19	18, 21. th. h. = Food for white goats of The M. in H. of Amūn, 18, 19
(38) § 205	74, 15	§ 23	19, 30. H. of Amūn
? (39) § 205	74, 17	§ 23	20, 1. <sup>6</sup> H. of Rē
(40) § 206	74, 29 <sup>7</sup> = No. 15 above	§ 30	22, 12. th. h. = H. of Nephthys (of Spermeru), 22, 10 (§)

Entries in the *khato*-paragraphs of Text A which have no *pōsh*-entry and also no corresponding mention in Text B are 43, 21; 72, 42; 73, 1. 3. 17. 19. 21. 26. 28.

After taking into account the possibility that, on account of the divergencies in the orientation<sup>8</sup> or other such differences in the indications of locality, some of the correspondences listed above may be erroneously viewed as such, none the less the seventeen certain examples contained in Nos. 1-19 justify the conclusion that the relation expressed by the formula 'on fields of' in Text B is the same relation as presupposed in the *pōsh*-entries of Text A. How the contradictory instances Nos. 20-4—we can count as certain only three of these—are to be explained is obscure; perhaps there was some transfer of ownership. On the other hand, a conjecture I had formed with regard to the entries of Text A that are unaccompanied by *pōsh*-entries is neither substantiated nor yet completely contradicted. It had seemed possible that when Text B speaks of *khato*-land of Pharaoh which is 'on fields of Pharaoh' the latter formula might have been retained only for the sake of consistency in the form of the entries, the point being thereby stressed that the *khato*-land in question was the absolute possession of the King, that this *khato*-land was upon the King's own land, not on that of some temple or other land-owning institution. This state of affairs, I supposed, might be reflected in all those entries of Text A which had no *pōsh*-entries, or in other words, in all the examples Nos. 25-40 we might have expected to find in Text B 'on fields of Pharaoh' and no reference to any temple at all. Six of the sixteen examples are very uncertain, but of the remaining ten only three (Nos. 26. 28. 29) have 'on fields of Pharaoh', though these may be supplemented by two more (Nos. 25. 35) referring to a Landing-place of Pharaoh, a type of land-owning institution to which, as we have seen (pp. 18, 138), Text A sometimes explicitly appends a paragraph headed 'Fields of Pharaoh'. The recalcitrant five examples are a very mixed lot, as may be seen from re-examination of the list. Again in the examples where Text A possesses *pōsh*-entries (Nos. 1-24) the evidence is of varying tendency. Only in three examples does 'on fields of Pharaoh' occur, and of these three, two (Nos. 16. 21) are doubtful, while in two<sup>9</sup> (Nos. 4. 16) the expression is explained by the fact that the *pōsh*-entries refer to the funerary temple of Ramesses V, the endowment of which would be naturally furnished from the King's own lands. One doubtful instance (No. 20) provides in Text B a reference to the Landing-place of Pharaoh in Mi-wēr. On the

<sup>1</sup> Possible alternatives. But perhaps neither refers to B 3, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Text A has E., Text B has S., therefore doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> Text A has E., Text B has NE.

<sup>4</sup> Text A has W., Text B has E.

<sup>5</sup> Text A has NW., Text B has SW.

<sup>6</sup> A much-corrected line, and with lacunae.

<sup>7</sup> Text A has SE., Text B has NE.

<sup>8</sup> These have been stated more fully in the list of entries where there is no *pōsh*-entry, since here the danger of faulty comparison is greater, the name of the temple in *pōsh*-entries of the other cases providing a certain guarantee of correspondence.

<sup>9</sup> Including the doubtful No. 16 just mentioned.







Text A devoted paragraphs to two categories of land connected with temple herds, and both are referred to also in Text B. Four times we read 'on fields of herbage of The Mansion in the House of Amūn' (18, 2; 19, 19; 21, 32; 22, 5), and five times 'on fields of food for white goats of The Mansion in the House of Amūn' (17, 32; 18, 19; 20, 18; 22, 14; 24, 31), to which must be added two more mentions of food for white goats in which the name of the temple (undoubtedly the same) has been omitted (18, 22; 19, 25). That only the temple of Medīnet Habu occurs in this connexion is a reminder of the important part that temple continued to play right down to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty; economically, no doubt, though not religiously or traditionally, the great foundation of Ramesses III remained the equal, if not the superior, of the temple of Karnak itself.

That *khato*-land of Pharaoh might exist on fields of secular institutions as well as temples has still to be demonstrated. Mention has already been made of the House of the Adoratress of the God in the House of Amūn (3, 8, see p. 168). As in Text A, the Queen's House is here too mentioned (10, 29). The Landing-places of Pharaoh, as already seen, are likewise named; of the four examples, two refer to Mi-wēr (15, 8, 17), one to the Keep of 'Onayna (17, 10), and one to a locality not specified (4, 9). Two exceedingly cryptic expressions have been reserved to the last. These I can translate, but have no notion how they are to be explained: they are 'on fields of the Stretch (lit. 'extension of [foot (𓆎)])' of Pharaoh' (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏



The above remarks will have illustrated the difficulty of these Egyptian topographical problems, and so double-edged are the arguments one is compelled to use that nothing is easier than to draw from them one conclusion at one moment and another at the next. Indeed, if (as is unlikely) I have entirely avoided contradicting myself, such consistency may even produce a regrettable sense of false security. It is with relief that I pass to a mode of argument where we are on firmer ground. On p. 161 I pointed out that the *khato*-lands administered by the Steward Usima<sup>ṛ</sup>ē<sup>ṛ</sup>nakhte were so numerous that they had been classified under six different paragraphs, each of which, on the evidence of such headings as are preserved, covered a distinct topographical area. Unfortunately the headings of §§ 1, 2 and 4 are entirely lost so far as their topographical data are concerned, and the headings of §§ 3, 5 and 6 either are disfigured by lacunae or else present difficulties of translation. They read as follows:

§ 5 (7, 24) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under his authority starting from the backland of Heracleopolis in Memphis (on) the East Bank.

The translation of  $\overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{d}} \overline{\text{r}}$  in 7, 24; 9, 11 as 'starting from' may be considered probable on account of its position in both headings; it is an awkward fact that Late Egyptian has two or even more compound prepositions containing the word  $\overline{\text{s}}\overline{\text{r}}$  'begin', one following it with  $\overline{\text{d}}$  'from' and the other with  $\overline{\text{r}}$  'to'.<sup>2</sup> No explanation has been offered how such a preposition reading in full  $\overline{\text{s}}\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{r}}$  or  $\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{s}}\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{r}}$  and signifying in effect 'to' or 'as far as' (Coptic  $\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{a}}$ ) could have incorporated a verb meaning 'to begin', though the ending of anything necessitates the beginning of something else. In the defective mode of writing found here and elsewhere  $\overline{\text{m}} \overline{\text{d}} \overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{s}}\overline{\text{r}}$  can represent either (1)  $\overline{\text{s}}\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{m}}$  or  $\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{s}}\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{m}}$  'starting from' or (2)  $\overline{\text{s}}\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{r}}$  or  $\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{s}}\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{r}}$  'as far as', and only the context can decide which of the two renderings is to be chosen. In the heading of § 6 a lacuna prevents us from knowing whether there followed a second phrase expressing the end-limit of the region covered by the paragraph. This is improbable, since we cannot see such an end-limit in the expression 'the East (lit. 'orient') Bank' ( $\overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{d}} \overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{n}} \overline{\text{i}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{y}}$  p: rwd wbn) in the heading of § 5. That expression seems a synonym of  $\overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{d}} \overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{n}} \overline{\text{i}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{y}}$  p: rwd libty found in the Story of the Doomed Prince (5, 1) and one other place, and is fairly obviously the counterpart of  $\overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{d}} \overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{n}} \overline{\text{i}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{y}}$  p: rwd imnty 'the West bank' found in the heading of § 8 and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> It is

<sup>2</sup> See *Wb.* iv, 407-9, where, however, no allusion is made to the extreme abbreviation *fr* in the sense of 'from'; Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, § 656, quotes *Anast. VIII*, 2, 9 for that sense, but only temporally, not spatially; however, *Abbott*, rt. 6, 10 has *r fr* without *m* apparently in the sense 'from' spatially, though Peet renders it 'to'.

berg, *Rechnungen*, Pl. 6, 1), where, shortly after the entry 'One (= Pharaoh) was in Memphis' we read 'One (= Pharaoh) made an excursion (*stetwet*) on the East Bank'; so too the home of the young prince in the story was thought of as Memphis, for 'he was ferried across to the East Bank' on his way to Mesopotamia. Again in the Story of Horus and Seth (8, 1-2) the Ennead 'ferry over to the West Bank' from the neighbourhood of the city of 'Anti. These examples seem conclusive with regard to the general sense of *red*. *Wb.* 11, 413, 7-9 rightly renders *Ufer*, *Uferbezirk*.



becoming more and more evident that these are general terms, not restricted topographical names as I, in common with others, used to think. Now it will later become clear that the preposition *šr* in the two headings, whether it means 'from' or whether it means 'to', envisages direction from south to north, and in such a delimitation 'the East Bank' could have no part, since it distinguishes East from West, but is prohibited by its meaning from indicating a northern boundary. A point of great interest, if we could make certain of it, is that in the heading of § 5 the name Heracleopolis means the Heracleopolite nome, and that 'in Memphis' means 'in the Memphite nome'.<sup>1</sup> We have no evidence that in non-monumental documents the old nome-banners were still used, and everywhere in Ramesside times we find the names of towns replacing those of the actual nomes. Here then we appear to have evidence that the Greek habit of designating the nomes after their capital cities was in force already in Ramesside times; and furthermore we have grounds for thinking that at the same period the Memphite nome adjoined the Heracleopolite, eliminating the Lower nome of the N<sup>ar</sup>-tree (XXI). If the restoration of 'Me[mphis]' in the heading of § 6 is correct—the sign  $\equiv$  seems probable and it is difficult to imagine an alternative—this would be another example of the use of 'Memphis' to signify the Memphite nome. For P-tjesy-Hu in the same heading see p. 31; it lay in Zone I, and its location will be considered more closely in the following pages.

The results obtained from internal examination of the first six paragraphs in part corroborate the view above explained, but in part are baffling and intractable. Of § 1 very little is left; it coincided with p. 1 of Text B, may have contained about thirty entries, and has preserved but one place-name, that of Sakō, which at least serves to show that we are here in a region corresponding roughly to Zone IV of Text A. The following paragraph (§ 2) appears to have been more than three times as long, extending down to B 5, 14. The only known names of localities in the much-damaged p. 2 are Harsperu or Hardai (Cynopolis) and H-nesu, 'Mansion of the King of Upper Egypt', which we have seen to be situated on the East bank near Shārūnah (p. 52, with nn. 5, 6). I find no absolute proof that there was no new paragraph-heading in the lower part of p. 2, but in the absence of such proof it is better to treat B 2, 2—5, 14 as a unity, the more so since otherwise § 2 would have been an unusually short one.<sup>2</sup> At any rate, pp. 3, 4 and the first half of p. 5 all belong to the same paragraph, a fact confirmed by the appearance of Huiniuti on all three pages (3, 20; 4, 15; 5, 8). A large majority of the place-names in this paragraph are known from Text A, and I have counted eighteen localities occurring there in Section III (Zone III)<sup>3</sup> and six in Section II (Zone II).<sup>4</sup> No place-name in § 2 is found in any of §§ 1, 4, 5 or 6, and the observation of this fact seems to justify us in attributing to § 2 a self-contained area differing from those of the other paragraphs just mentioned. The general inference is that this area corresponded roughly to that of Zone III of Text A, with a slight extension into Zone II, while if the surviving lines from p. 2 really belong to the same paragraph, there will be a further extension in § 2 to Shārūnah, of which Text A contains no trace.

Encouraged by the conclusions emerging from § 2, we are the more disappointed to find the indications of § 3 in flat contradiction. This short paragraph deals with no more than fourteen plots, the descriptions of the first and last having lost in lacunae their place-names or the essential part thereof. Of the remaining twelve entries three (B 5, 20–2) seem to be lifted straight out of § 2—not only the place-names, but the orientations as well, and they preserve the same consecutive order; the middle entry of the three refers to an otherwise unknown locality, and the other two<sup>5</sup> belong to Zones III and II respectively. Zone II is further represented in § 3 by two place-names,<sup>6</sup> and there are also two corresponding to places<sup>7</sup> in Zone IV of Text A. This disconcerting state of affairs is at variance alike with

<sup>1</sup> See too p. 48 and the Synopsis of Text A, § 103, on the temple of Amūn of the Beautiful Foreland in Memphis.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps no shorter, however, than § 3.

<sup>3</sup> Table II, Nos. 5, 6, 21, 24, 39, 50, 66, 95, 96, 106, 121, 128, 131, 134; also the places in A 49, 19; 56, 22; 58, 3; 73, 5, these not included in Table II because they occur each only in a single column. The restoration of the beginning of B 3, 19 must be wrong, since the place in question occurs only in

Zone IV of Text A, whereas that immediately following it in the same line belongs to Zone II (Table II, No. 77).

<sup>4</sup> Table II, Nos. 4, 21, 27, 73, 77, 90. Of these No. 21 is common to Zones II and III.

<sup>5</sup> These name Nos. 6 and 90 of Table II.

<sup>6</sup> B 5, 17 = No. 112 of Table II; B 5, 23 = No. 49.

<sup>7</sup> B 5, 25 = A 76, 38, embodying the expression found in Table II, No. 88; B 5, 28 = Table II, No. 83.



the heading (see above, p. 174) and with the general conception we have formed of these paragraphs. I have no explanation to offer.<sup>1</sup>

The three paragraphs following (§§ 4–6) are reassuring to the extent that none of them contains any place-name found in any other of the three or yet in the paragraphs already studied. To this generalization there is but one exception, namely Pi-Miniu in both § 4 (B 6, 18) and § 6 (B 9, 15), a case which will be discussed later. The great majority of the localities mentioned are not found in Text A.

Proceeding now to details, § 4 has lost its heading, as already seen. None the less, there is evidence, slender and indirect, it is true, that some of its fields belonged to Zone I of Text A, but presumably others lay outside and to the north of that zone, though still, to judge from the heading of § 5, within the Heracleopolite nome. In the first line after the heading of § 4, we find a plot that was on fields of the House of Osiris Khant-‘Aru, a temple which gave a paragraph (§ 11) to Text A and whose prophet was in charge of the *khato*-lands contained in § 53 of Text B. Among the plots of § 53, one which we may guess to have been at no great distance from that temple is located at Pi-Ōker (Table II, No. 72), a place named a number of times in Section I of Text A, but not occurring in § 4 of Text B. Another link between that section and that paragraph is, however, provided by the mention in B 7, 8 of the town of Su, so famous for its associations with the god Seth. A prophet of Seth of Su controls *khato*-lands of Pharaoh in § 52 of Text B, and prominent among the localities there named is Mound of Wadjoi occurring twice in our § 4 (B 6, 16, 23); in § 28 of Text A (Section I), as we have seen (pp. 127 f.), the temple of Nephthys, regularly the consort of Seth, was in all probability situated in Su, the name of which, moreover, ought doubtless to be restored in the line of measurement A 16, 39. Apart from these two connexions, there are no place-names common to Text A and to § 4 of Text B,<sup>2</sup> but already we have sufficient grounds for the conclusion that § 4 was contiguous with, or slightly overlapped, the Heracleopolite and Fayyūm area of Section I of Text A. To anticipate our final inference, the area of § 4 seems likely to have lain more to the west than that of § 6 or § 5, and the general south–north direction of §§ 1–6 perhaps warrants the view that § 4 covered a somewhat less northerly region than either of those two paragraphs. In other words, § 4 probably belongs to either the interior or the eastern fringe of the Fayyūm. Little or no weight need be attached to the fact that certain lands belonging to § 4 lay on ground belonging to two temples having close ties with Memphis or the Memphite nome. These temples, neither of which is likely to have been of the first rank, are the Mansion of the Lady of the Sycomore (B 6, 6, cf. 15, 1 with □□ ‘House’ in place of □□ ‘Mansion’) and the House of Thoth Taking pleasure in Truth in Memphis (B 7, 9). The last-named is mentioned once in a Turin Miscellany, see the textual note *ad loc.* in Pl. 54 A; the founder is there given as Ramesses II. The former belonged to the goddess Ḥathōr whose identical epithet is found in a topographically arranged list of goddesses at Karnak,<sup>3</sup> where she follows the Ḥathōr of Tpēhu (Atfih) and precedes the Ḥathōr of Memphis. She is also frequently mentioned elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

The references in the heading of § 5 to ‘the backland of Heracleopolis in Memphis’ and to ‘the East Bank’ might seem to speak for themselves, but at least one serious difficulty arises in connexion with them. No less than five<sup>5</sup> of the localities in the body of the paragraph occur also in § 8, but the heading of § 8 speaks quite unambiguously of ‘the West Bank’. There exists, moreover, in § 5 internal evidence

<sup>1</sup> As I shall point out later (p. 188), another abnormality of § 3, as compared with the neighbouring paragraphs, is that it contains no red additions and is concluded by no total.

<sup>2</sup> B 7, 16 mentions a ‘House of Meryrē’, and this name occurs also in Zone III of Text A (Table II, No. 37), but presumably referring to a different place.

<sup>3</sup> Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1408, No. 38. In the Old Kingdom the title ‘prophet(ess) of Ḥathōr, lady of the Sycomore’ is a very common title of ladies, but there seems no means of ascertaining whether it refers to a definite locality, or is merely a way of comparing the bearer to the goddess in one of her most gracious forms.

<sup>4</sup> See the learned article Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 330–2. From Harris, 49, 2–3 her temple must have lain at least some little

distance to the south of Memphis, since in the course of one of his festivals Ptah, South of His Wall, had to travel on the river to visit it. In *Sallier IV*, vs. 1, 1 ff. a priestess of Ḥathōr, lady of the Southern Sycomore, writes to a priestess at Thebes belauding Memphis, and this suggests that she definitely thought of herself as a denizen of that city. Further on in the papyrus (vs. 1, 8–9), the same Ḥathōr is named among the deities of Memphis and identified with the cow-goddess Methwer. See also in my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Text, II, pp. 124\* f.

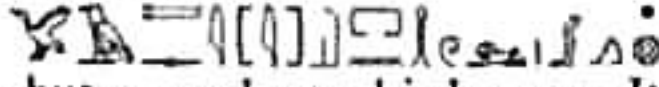

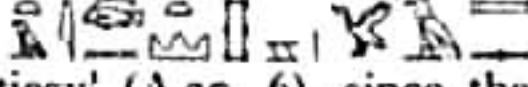
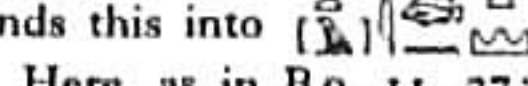

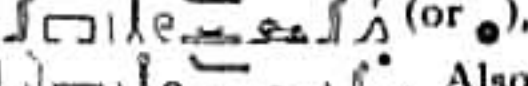

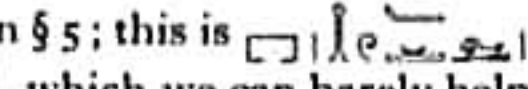
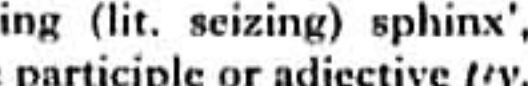

<sup>5</sup> They are: ‘the Opposite Side W. of Tpēhu’, B 12, 34 = 8, 16; ‘the Settlement (*grg*) of Ḥaremhab’, B 12, 9 = 7, 25; 8, 1, 8, 15; Sekry, B 12, 18, 23, 26 = 7, 26; ‘the Village of ‘I-Rē’, B 12, 29, 32 = 8, 11, 14 (?); Pi-Ḥu-tjay, B 9, 8 = 12, 30 (see p. 177, n. 2). On Sekry see above, p. 173.




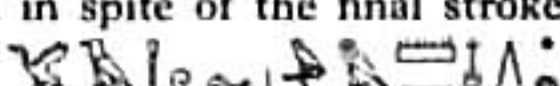




that both banks made their contributions to its list, since while B 9, 1 names 'the pond north of Tpēhu (Atfih)', i.e. a place to the east of the Nile, B 8, 16 mentions 'the Opposite Side (*pr* *hst-hr*) west of Tpēhu', using an expression for which we have established the meaning '*vis-à-vis* across the river'.<sup>1</sup> How this contradiction is to be explained is utterly obscure. As regards latitude, it is at least satisfactory that Atfih is named, since this shows that § 5 is passing or has passed northward beyond the range of Heracleopolitan territory. Not more than eighteen different places are enumerated in § 5; of these all are distinct from the localities of §§ 4 and 6, and only one is found in Text A. This one place 'the Castle of Meryrē' (B 8, 6. 21) is shared between B § 5 and Section (or Zone) II of Text A (see Table II, No. 67). If, as I was formerly inclined to believe, the said Zone II lay wholly to the south of Zone I (Heracleopolis and the Fayyūm), we should have here had another difficulty no whit less perplexing than that in connexion with the river-banks. However, in revising my Commentary on Text A I found it wiser to argue (pp. 48 f.) from 'Castle of Meryrē' in Text B that Zone II must have extended to the level of El-Wasta or thereabouts, so that Zone I lay only partly to the north of it, and mainly to the west. It looks as though 'Castle of Meryrē' were situated on the northernmost border of Zone II, since a locality Pi-Ōn referred to no less than five times in our § 5 and intimately associated with 'Castle of Meryrē' in B 23, 17-18 (§ 38) is not named at all in Text A. May it not be that Pi-Ōn (not to be confused with Pen-Ōn in Zone III, see Table II, No. 24) was just over the northern border beyond Zone II, while 'Castle of Meryrē' lay within it? On the other hand, it was possibly the Amūn having a temple in Pi-Ōn (B § 38, heading) who gave his name to the 'Lake of Amūn' in § 78 of Text A, a paragraph devoted to a 'Tabernacle' which was in 'Castle of Meryrē'.

The general position of the area covered by § 5 is at all events fixed by the twofold mention of Atfih, and the neighbourhood of the river thus being demonstrated, we have good grounds for the belief that the area in question lay to the east of that of § 6. This last of the six paragraphs devoted to the *khato*-lands controlled by the Steward Usima'rēnakhte has a damaged heading in which is recognizable a place-name mentioned also in Text A followed by what must apparently be a reference to Memphis or the Memphite nome (see above, p. 175). The place-name in question presents difficulties of reading and interpretation best relegated to a footnote;<sup>2</sup> apparently the word *Hu* believed to be a designation of the Sphinx of Gīzah is an ingredient in the name, but it is nevertheless inconceivable—in spite of the addition 'in Memphis'—that the region here in question should be that of the said famous landmark. In Text A P-tjesy-*Hu* appears in the line of measurement (18, 34) connected with a plot belonging to a small temple of Isis founded by Ramesses II, and since this is one of the last temples or chapels mentioned in Section I it seems likely that it lay in the extreme north of Zone I. The other mention in Text A (20, 6), likewise in Section I, is as the site of a piece of *khato*-land mentioned also in B 10, 4. Farther on in Text B (§ 37) we find a reference to *khato*-land administered by

<sup>1</sup> See p. 27. See, however, my note there.

<sup>2</sup> A 18, 34 gives the writing  with  as determinative of *tsy*, but no such word is known. It is the same place that is alluded to in  (A 20, 6), since the corresponding entry in B 10, 3 expands this into . Here, as in B 9, 11. 27; 23, 14,  is written with a stroke as though it were the independent word Pi- 'House'. Whether that view is to be taken depends largely on our interpretation of the rest of the name. In B 23, 14 the writing is  (or ), while in B 9, 27 we find . Also to be taken into account is an evidently related name for an apparently different place—it occurs in § 5; this is  Pi-Hu-tjay (B 9, 8), which we can barely help rendering 'the House of the ravaging (lit. seizing) sphinx', though B 12, 30 inserts — before the participle or adjective *tsy*. If in the writings of Text B we divorce  from *tsy* as a separate

word, then *tsy* is left ending with , which would be unusual. I believe that  at the end of the place-name in A 18, 34, as also in some writings of Text B (see above), really belongs to *tsy*, which will then have its normal sense 'climb'. This leaves  as a separate word, and in spite of the final stroke I am encouraged by the writing  'the Sphinx in Memphis', *P. Turin A*, vs. 3, 3 = *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 123, in my belief that we have here, not a word *h-r*, but *hw*, the name of the Sphinx (*Wb.* 111, 45, 1). There is no evidence, nor any great likelihood, that the  or  between *tsy* and *hw* represents the definite article. Provisionally I prefer to regard it as a determinative without any meaning more definite than a mere indication of locality. Admitting this and other difficulties I venture to conjecture that the true form of this place-name common to Texts A and B was P-tjesy-*Hu* 'the Sphinx's climb', though it must be acknowledged that the slovenliness of our late Ramesside scribes leaves the matter in much doubt. [See the Additions and Corrections for considerations making it probable, after all, that *h-r* is the true reading.]



the prophet of a temple of Ramesses II in P-tjesy-Hu, and here the locality nearest to the fields in question is 'the Keep of Hati', which, as pointed out on p. 35, is definitely proved by a Cairo inscription to have belonged to the Heracleopolite nome. The contiguity of the area of § 6 to that nome is reinforced by the occurrence in both § 6 (B 9, 14. 15) and § 4 (B 6, 18, see above, p. 176) of Pi-Miniu; and in § 11, dealing with land controlled by the mayor of the unknown town, Pi-Miniu (B 14, 28) is closely associated with the Village of Mutmosē (B 14, 31), which likewise is mentioned in § 4 (B 7, 21). Since the order of the paragraphs is, generally speaking, from south to north, I am inclined to regard the domain of § 6 as lying immediately to the west of that of § 5, and possibly at about the same level of latitude. Perhaps the north-eastern corner of the Fayyūm is as likely a position as any, though it must be admitted that this conjecture rests on very tenuous grounds, and the area of § 6 may, after all, have lain in the Nile valley to the east of the high desert separating this from the northern part of the Fayyūm. In connexion with the remaining places mentioned in § 6 it should be recalled that 'the Village of Nesh' (B 9, 22. 24) may be the village which figured so prominently in a lawsuit of the reign of Ramesses II (above, pp. 32 f.). The locality of Pen'obata (B 9, 18) might on a hasty view seem to point to the region of Sakō, but the name simply means 'the (place) of (the man called) 'Obata', i.e. Great-is-Bata, and it is quite easy to imagine a native of Sakō owning or moving to a place much farther north, and naming it after himself; the same site is mentioned in B 23, 1 as containing some *khato*-lands controlled by the prophet of Tpēhu (Atfih). Lastly, the places called 'the Village of Maḥu' (B 9, 12. 19. 28) and 'the House of Amūn (in) P-u-ʿo' (B 9, 16. 20. 24. 29) agree in occurring later in paragraphs where the functionaries were officials of Memphis or of 'the House of Ptah' (the former place, B 18, 30; 19, 5; the latter, 19, 2; 20, 9), and this recalls the possibility that the heading of § 6 referred to Memphis, i.e. the Memphite nome. Text A mentions no locality in § 6 of Text B except that with which our discussion started.

Enough has been written above to show the extreme difficulty of the topographical problems of Text B, though these are not altogether hopeless. Nothing further is to be gained, so far as I can see, from a comparison of the paragraphs (§§ 7. 8) dealing with the areas controlled by the standard-bearers, though it may not be superfluous to mention that those two paragraphs possess no place-name in common except that of Tpēhu (B 11, 26. 27; 12, 34). Throughout the remaining pages there are many new place-names, often combined with others already known from Text A. To sum up in a couple of sentences what has been learnt concerning the geographical range of Text B, nothing suggests that this extended farther south than Zone IV of Text A; on the other hand, the almost exclusively new names exhibited in §§ 5. 6 are clear enough evidence that in the northward direction the boundaries of Text B lay a good deal farther afield than those of Text A.

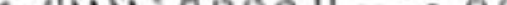
### 8. The different qualities and areas of *khato*-land

Three kinds of fields are distinguished in Text B, and the terms used to describe them were discussed in connexion with the general topographical expressions used in Text A (pp. 27 ff.). By far the commonest variety was called ⲁⲃⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ *kryt*, though this uncial writing is found in Text B only in a very few indications of locality where the etymological sense of 'high ground' seems still to prevail (B 1, 3; 9, 4; 13, 12. 23). In the innumerable cases where the word serves, like the Coptic *κωτε*, *κατε*, to designate the normal agricultural land and is immediately followed by ⲙⲁⲛⲓ and a number, i.e. *x* arouras or *sōte*, the spelling is ⲁⲃⲓⲛⲓ or ⲁⲃⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ, the variant ⲙⲁⲛⲓ, which fully establishes the identity with ⲁⲃⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ (in older times written ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓ and the like), occurring almost only when the length of the line desiderates economy of space.<sup>1</sup> In the first draft of my Commentary on Text A the distinction of being agricultural land of the best quality was claimed for this 'high-lying land', but facts have since come to light which suggest that it was merely of average or normal kind, and this will account better for its continuance as a common word for 'arable land' in Coptic times. The Griffith fragments of which a preliminary account was given in my article *JEA*, xxvii, 64 ff. similarly use *kryt* 'arable land' in the great majority of its entries relating to temple estates, the word ⲙⲁⲛⲓ 'nḥb-land' there occurring only as

<sup>1</sup> ⲙⲁⲛⲓ occurs as a variant 9, 24; 13, 14. The examples of ⲙⲁⲛⲓ number not far short of 100, so that references need not be given.



How did these three kinds of land compare as regards productiveness? This is a question to the answering of which there is a very serious obstacle, and we must content ourselves with asking what was their comparative yield as estimated by the assessors of the corn-tax? To answer that question it will be necessary to anticipate a little, and to examine one or two of the totals written in red at the end of the paragraphs. A characteristic feature of these totals is that whenever they deal with *kryt* 'arable land', the number of arouras, which we will here call  $x$ , is always followed by the formula  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{x}{2}$  'making  $\frac{x}{2}$  arouras'. Examples are:

B 20, 6.  Total, arable land, 145 (arouras), making 72½ arouras.

The word for 'fresh land' (*nḥb*) appears in totals only three times (11, 30, see next page; 13, 1; 19, 27), but in none of these is it accompanied, like *kryt* 'arable land', with the halving equivalent. The third occurrence happily affords the explanation of that equivalent:

from this isolated, but conclusive example—which incidentally furnishes a new form of the abbreviation or  $\frac{1}{2}$  'aroura'—we see that the purpose of the halving was to reduce the previously given area of ordinary arable land to terms of *nĥb* or 'fresh land'. Accordingly, in the first of the two examples previously quoted, we must understand 'arable land, 90 arouras, making 45 arouras' to mean '90 arouras of arable land, equivalent to 45 arouras of fresh land'. For this interpretation I find further evidence in the Griffith fragments of which I have given some samples in *JEA*, xxvii, 64 ff. Here a total quoted on p. 65 reads:

The expression  $\text{𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎠} | \text{𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎠} |$  'region of the high-  
 (or 'arable') land' there constantly used is found again  
 in various inscriptions of Dyn. XXI, see Will of Ewerot, l. 2  
 ZAS, xxxv, 14); Decree in favour of Isimkheb, l. 13 (= *Aspero, Momies royales*, 705); the Stela of Shoshenq, ll. 11.  
 2 (without *n* and the article *u*, JEA, xxvii, Pl. xi). These  
 examples tend to confirm that *kryt* was commonly used to  
 designate the ordinary agricultural land, whether or no it in-  
 cluded Ray-lands as well as *Sharāki*-lands; for this problem see

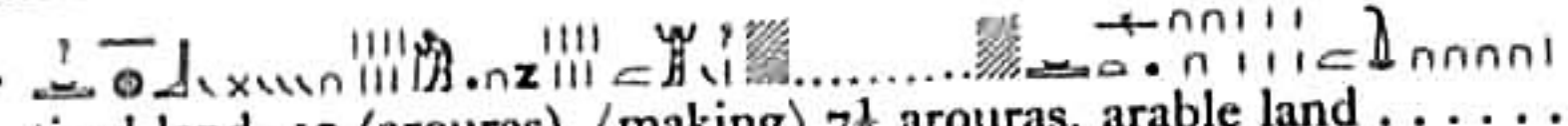
<sup>2</sup> The original scribe of Text B, i.e. he who wrote the entries in black, usually makes  $\frac{1}{2}$  more distinctly, but examples may be found (e.g. B 18, 15; 19, 21) which approximate closely to the least unsatisfactory writings of the scribe of the totals.

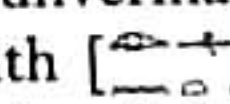
<sup>3</sup> In the same article proof was given of the use of red ink to indicate amounts in emmer (*bdt*), and black ink to indicate amounts in barley (*it*). For 'emmer' as the correct translation of *bdt* see above, p. 70, n. 4.



That in Ramesside times emmer (starch-wheat) and barley were regarded for the purpose of tax-payments as of equal value, is clear from other documents quoted in the same article, where amounts of these two kinds of corn are often found added together. We may, therefore, regard 8 sacks of barley and 32 of emmer in the above total as signifying 40 sacks of corn. Accordingly in this total, whereas fresh land is said to produce 2 sacks per aroura, ordinary arable land (*kryt*) is seen to be productive of 1 sack per aroura, or in other words 'fresh land' had, from the standpoint of the tax-assessor, double the value of ordinary arable land. We have no notion what manner of tax is here meant, but the proportionate yield is clear and unmistakable.

What then of 'tired land' (*tnt*)? The Will of Ewerot, quoted in my footnotes p. 29, nn. 1, 2, estimates this at less than half the price of clean tenanted land, and if Text B set out to state its absolute value, we might expect that value to be small in proportion to that of the ordinary arable land (*kryt*). What little we learn from Text B is, however, in complete disaccord with that expectation. There are but two examples where 'tired land' appears in a total. In one of these, however, the information given is most remarkable:

B 11, 30.  Total (?), fresh land, 17 (arouras), tired land, 10 (arouras), (making)  $7\frac{1}{2}$  arouras, arable land . . . . .<sup>1</sup> Total, 36 $\frac{1}{2}$  arouras, balance, 41 (arouras).

This is followed in l. 31 by a second total, to be rendered 'Total, [arable land], 36 arouras, making 18 arouras', which I cannot bring into any intelligible connexion with the preceding total. Here it seems almost inevitable to interpret the numbers after *tnt* 'tired land' as meaning that 10 arouras of this land were equivalent to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  arouras of 'fresh land'. So too in B 13, 1, where we can still discern 'Total, fresh land 34, tired land 20 . . . arable land . . . 11 (?) . . . making 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ '. All that follows *kryt* 'arable land' is obscure and unverifiable, but between 'tired land 20' and it there is a space difficult to fill out otherwise than with  '[making 15 arouras]'. Thus it seems that one passage of Text B certainly, and a second probably, put the tax-assessors' valuation of 'tired land' at three-quarters the value of fresh land, and at one and a half times that of ordinary arable land. I see no reason for doubting the meaning 'tired land' here assigned to *tnt*, nor for thinking that *kryt* has any other sense than that of ordinary 'arable land'.

Confirmation of the fact that 'tired land' was assessed at less than 'fresh land', but at more than ordinary 'arable land', may perhaps be found in those places where Text B mentions all three as a series; in B 11, 17. 30; 12, 6; 13, 1; 15, 22 the order is invariably (1) *njb*, (2) *tnt*, (3) *kryt*, and this, too, is the order found in the Golénischeff Onomasticon (1, 11-12). So also when *tnt* is omitted, *njb* and *kryt* follow one another in that order (B 10, 19; 14, 28; 19, 27; 20, 21), the sole exception being (1) *kryt*, (2) *njb* in 12, 17; and in B 11, 8 we have (1) *njb*, (2) *tnt*, the third sort here being absent. At this point there emerges a possibility of considerable interest. If the relative values of *njb*, *tnt* and *kryt* are in the proportions 10:  $7\frac{1}{2}$ : 5, surely these must have been the names borne by the three differently assessed kinds of land in the non-apportioning paragraphs of Text A (see p. 29). This hypothesis is supported by the vast preponderance there of plots assessed at 5 corn-measures per aroura, corresponding admirably to the vast preponderance of *kryt*-land in Text B. In Text A the fields assessed at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  or 10 corn-measures are a tiny minority, exactly as are *tnt*-land and *njb*-land in Text B. In the *khato*-paragraphs of Text A the rate of assessment is 5 corn-measures without exception, and in entries of Text B which correspond to entries in the aforesaid paragraphs, the kind of land is *kryt*-land without exception. This, however, is only negative confirmation of the thesis here propounded. To conclude this topic, our outstanding difficulty remains that *tnt*-land is proclaimed by its name to have possessed little value, and yet appears to have been reckoned at one and a half times the value of the lowest assessed variety. In my confessed incompetence as regards fiscal problems, I am perhaps unwise to put forward any suggestion at all. Still, to give critics something to tilt at I submit the

<sup>1</sup> In the lacuna it seems natural to restore '[24 arouras, making 12 arouras]', since  $17 + 7\frac{1}{2} + [12] = 36\frac{1}{2}$ . We shall see later that the entries written in red in the preceding paragraph (§ 7) ought

to provide verification of this restoration, but owing to lacunae and other difficulties my attempts at such verification have proved unsuccessful.



possibility that the assessments of Text A and the totals of Text B by no means reflect absolute valuations of the three types of land, but that for some obscure reason 'tired land' (*tnl*) was penalized by the taxing authorities, and 'fresh land' (*nbb*) even more so.

The above discussion has embraced the later entries in red as well as the earlier ones in black, and we must now again confine our attention to the data provided by the first hand. The sizes of the plots recorded by this hand correspond moderately well to those of the non-apportioning paragraphs of Text A, which include, be it remembered, a small number referring to *khato*-land. A distinct preference is shown, here as also there, for multiples of 5 arouras, intermediate sizes being rare, and plots of 10 and 20 arouras are much commoner than any others. Differences between the two sets of areas here compared are firstly, that whereas Text A stops short at 80 arouras, Text B has more than twenty plots of larger size, including one of 300 and another of 340 arouras.<sup>1</sup> At the other end of the scale, Text B has no field of less than 2 arouras, whereas Text A has a few of 1 aroura; and finally, in two instances Text B utilizes  $\frac{1}{2}$ , the sign for a half-aroura, whereas the non-apportioning paragraphs of Text A are not concerned with any fractional parts of the aroura.

The details are set forth in the following table,<sup>2</sup> footnotes giving, as heretofore, references to all areas that count less than five examples. Note that the word  $\frac{1}{2}$  *stt* 'aroura' is not inserted before B 5, 5, but after that is invariably present.

Arouras:	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	12½	13	14	15
Occurrences:	7	3 <sup>3</sup>	1 <sup>4</sup>	17	2 <sup>5</sup>	5	3 <sup>6</sup>	3 <sup>7</sup>	98	1(?) <sup>8</sup>	3 <sup>9</sup>	1 <sup>10</sup>	2 <sup>11</sup>	1 <sup>12</sup>	21
Arouras:	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	24	25	30	31	34	35		
Occurrences:	1 <sup>13</sup>	2 <sup>14</sup>	1 <sup>15</sup>	1 <sup>16</sup>	131	2 <sup>17</sup>	1 <sup>18</sup>	3 <sup>19</sup>	8	32	1 <sup>20</sup>	1 <sup>21</sup>	3 <sup>22</sup>		
Arouras:	36	39	40	50	52	60	61	65	66	70	72	75	80		
Occurrences:	2 <sup>23</sup>	1 <sup>24</sup>	58	33	1 <sup>25</sup>	18	1 <sup>26</sup>	1 <sup>27</sup>	2 <sup>28</sup>	1 <sup>29</sup>	1 <sup>30</sup>	2 <sup>31</sup>	9		
Arouras:	82	90	95	100	104½	120	150	180	210	300	340				
Occurrences:	1 <sup>32</sup>	2 <sup>33</sup>	1 <sup>34</sup>	12	1 <sup>35</sup>	1 <sup>36</sup>	3 <sup>37</sup>	1 <sup>38</sup>	1 <sup>39</sup>	1 <sup>40</sup>	1 <sup>41</sup>				

### 9. The work of the first hand: conclusion

It is here assumed, though without absolutely cogent proof, that the entries due to the first scribe of Text B terminated with the black numbers that have just been analysed. The original appearance of the paragraphs will, on this view, have been that still visible (e.g.) in §§ 27-9, as well as the whole of B 25, where the totals have not yet been added and there are no disfiguring additions or alterations in red. At this point, therefore, it seems appropriate to mention any deviations from the stereotyped plan, and also to deal with one detail ignored thus far, namely the number of sacks frequently added to the line constituting the heading.

To take the second point first, there is no trace of any such addition to the headings before § 11, though admittedly some headings close with a lacuna where 'x sacks' may have stood. In thirteen paragraphs (§§ 17. 20. 23. 33. 34. 42. 43. 45. 47. 48. 49. 51. 52) the sign  $\nabla$  for 'sack' is written, but no number follows. In nineteen paragraphs, beginning with § 11 and ending with § 44, a black number has been appended to the sign, and there is no indication that the number in question was written later, though there is also none to exclude that possibility. The paragraphs where sign for 'sack' and number are both found will be listed below, but before this is done it may be noted that eight paragraphs (§§ 12-14. 16. 19. 21. 22. 28), though lying within the limits where such information is given,

<sup>1</sup> Once (B 3, 9) after red  $\nabla$ , and consequently not really belonging here, we read 900; despite the improbability of so high a number, I cannot read the damaged sign differently.

<sup>2</sup> On rare occasions there may have been some doubt about the number of examples. I have used my judgement in deciding what should be taken up and what rejected as uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> B 8, 3; 10, 16; 11, 11. <sup>4</sup> B 9, 19. <sup>5</sup> B 8, 5; 10, 8.

<sup>6</sup> B 12, 18; 20, 19; 22, 23. <sup>7</sup> B 5, 9; 7, 14; 8, 12.

<sup>8</sup> B 14, 31 (?). <sup>9</sup> B 10, 7; 20, 14; 22, 22. <sup>10</sup> B 18, 1.

<sup>11</sup> B 8, 31; 17, 19. <sup>12</sup> B 12, 3. <sup>13</sup> B 9, 4.

<sup>14</sup> B 5, 21; 14, 15.

<sup>17</sup> B 4, 26; 15, 17 (?).

<sup>19</sup> B 5, 24; 8, 15; 12, 30.

<sup>22</sup> B 6, 23; 12, 10. 32.

<sup>23</sup> B 5, 25. <sup>26</sup> B 14, 16.

<sup>29</sup> B 12, 4. <sup>30</sup> B 15, 12.

<sup>33</sup> B 3, 2; 6, 14 (?).

<sup>36</sup> B 10, 17.

<sup>39</sup> B 7, 18.

<sup>15</sup> B 7, 4.

<sup>20</sup> B 11, 17.

<sup>23</sup> B 8, 4; 17, 31.

<sup>27</sup> B 17, 4.

<sup>31</sup> B 17, 9. 10.

<sup>34</sup> B 5, 17.

<sup>37</sup> B 15, 27; 20, 25; 21, 8.

<sup>40</sup> B 8, 22.

<sup>16</sup> B 5, 19.

<sup>18</sup> B 7, 25.

<sup>21</sup> B 7, 15.

<sup>24</sup> B 9, 6.

<sup>28</sup> B 21, 31; 22, 1.

<sup>32</sup> B 3, 3.

<sup>35</sup> B 18, 8.

<sup>38</sup> B 15, 13.

<sup>41</sup> B 9, 5.







and in B 13, 9—in the paragraph dealing with land under the control of the Overseer of Prophets—we must admit the identity of the prophet of Bast Wennofrē in B § 40 with the prophet of Seth of Pi-Wayna bearing the same name, and here we have the unique case of a plot being booked in four different places in the papyrus.

The only other serious abnormality that I have noted in the entries of the first hand is in B 15, 5, where there is no indication of the land-owning institution on whose fields the *khato*-land lay. The same omission occurs in the red additional line B 20, 21. Lastly, in the black line B 20, 19 'its fields west of the house of Meryrē' is an insertion into the indication of place quite unique in form.

### 10. The red additions and the purpose of Text B

For various reasons the red additions made to Text B are difficult to analyse. They follow no very consistent models and possess more the character of casual jottings. In many cases the writing is as cursive and as clumsy as any surviving from Ramesside times; often it is barely visible. Add to these disadvantages the fact that the long and important early paragraphs teem with lacunae, and it will be realized why my account must necessarily be imperfect. A few facts of outstanding importance are, however, clear and it will perhaps facilitate matters to begin with these.

The presence of the red sign  $\equiv$  at the beginning of a separate line at the end of each paragraph shows that a total was certainly envisaged from the start, and there is no doubt that this sign emanated from the first hand. In places I have even thought I detected a colour of ink different from that of the subsequent red writing. But it is also evident that whatever the kind of total envisaged by the original scribe, that finally inserted was not the sum of the number of arouras written in black at the end of each entry. A total is never actually given unless the paragraph shows some red additions, and in every case the sum of the black numbers vastly exceeds the number of arouras given in the total. Take, for example, § 26. Here the black numbers from the original hand are 150, 50, 7, 20, 40, 60, 60, 40, 30, 40, 40, the sum of which is 537 arouras, but the total mentions only 100 arouras, or only 50 when the 100 arouras of *kryt*-land are halved (see above, p. 179). In this paragraph, however, there are three additional numbers in red, each following the sign  $\beth$  known from other texts to read *mn* and to mean something like 'balance',<sup>1</sup> literally 'remaining'; these numbers are 20, 45 and 35 respectively, and they add up to 100, the number of arouras found in the total. This observation receives confirmation from many other paragraphs. A particularly good example is § 18, since here there are no less than seven red numbers at the ends of lines, namely 10, 80, 40, 5, 5, 45 and 15. These add up to the 200 arouras found in the total, whereas the original black numbers, namely 40, 80, 104½, 20, 60, 20, 10, 40, 50, 40,<sup>2</sup> when added together, yield 464½ arouras.

Contenting ourselves for the moment with these two examples, what interpretation is to be put upon the facts here observed? For my part, I can think of only one explanation that is at all satisfactory, namely that an earlier statement with regard to *khato*-lands has been copied out as the basis for a new record of the present state of affairs, this present state being represented only by the final red numbers. On this view the old black numbers are no longer of absolutely first-rate importance. If we recall the statement in five cases (p. 182) that *khato*-land had previously been 'apportioned' for some private individual, i.e. had been virtually in his possession, it seems no unlikely hypothesis that *khato*-land consisted at least in part of land that had reverted to the Crown, and was now available for other purposes. The numbers after the sign  $\beth$  will represent the amount thus available at some definite moment, after new leases had been given, new donations made, or parcels disposed of in other ways, e.g. by cession to a stable-master (see above, pp. 77 ff.). The area of *khato*-land will, accordingly, have been constantly shifting.

In support of this thesis I will recall the apparently contradictory facts (1) that Text B was undoubtedly written later than Text A (see p. 6) and (2) that two officials named in Text A as dead are not so represented in Text B (see p. 165). This contradiction would be explained if Text B, i.e. the parts

<sup>1</sup> For this word see my note *JEA*, xxvii, 49, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For mere reasons of convenience I here ignore the red additional line B 18, 16.



written by the original scribe, were the mere copy of a record anterior to Text A, though of only slightly earlier date. This hypothesis obtains some slight support from the vagueness with which certain of its proper names are written. This vagueness suggests that the scribe was copying from an original that at some points he had difficulty in reading.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to believe, however, that the black figures given by the original hand were entirely without interest to our copyist, or even to the final annotator. What purpose they can still have served is, however, quite obscure, like so much in this most intriguing of all hieratic papyri.

### 11. Further analysis of the red additions

Adopting the above explanation as a working hypothesis, I will now deal with the red additions in fuller detail. First let it be noted that where such red additions are to be used in the total, the lines in which they occur are usually preceded by a red dot. Many examples will be found throughout the entire text, but may be best seen in pages 20-4, where the red additions are simple; in B 25 there are no red additions, and consequently no red dots. Text B would not be a genuine Egyptian text if it failed to show inconsistencies, and there are cases of red additions without dots (e.g. 20, 5. 27) and of dots without red additions (e.g. 21, 12). Sometimes there may be slight displacement of the dot, that (e.g.) before 13, 29 belonging to 13, 30. Red dots are added too before most completed totals, e.g. 9, 10; 13, 1; 14, 5; exceptions are 18, 4; 21, 6. Once or twice a red dot is placed before a paragraph heading (16, 9; 23, 25) for no apparent reason.

As regards the numbers indicating area, mention has thus far been made only of the original black ones and of those final red numbers which follow  $\text{𐀓}$  and are used as constituents of the totals. But it often happens that between these two entries there is a red  $\text{𐀓}$  followed by a black number, e.g. 7, 20. 26; 10, 18. 19. In the four cases just mentioned two red dots precede the line, and perhaps indicate two successive additions. But there are examples of the two red dots where there is only one red addition (8, 3; 10, 16) or where the motive is obscure (7, 27; 8, 33). The practice of the double dot is discontinued after 11, 10. Before that point there are examples where one of the dots is black (7, 23), where three dots are employed (two red, one black, four times in B 4), or even where a line is preceded by five dots (8, 34).

Returning now to the question of the intermediate red  $\text{𐀓}$  followed by a black number, it is to be presumed that this represents, like the final red  $\text{𐀓}$  and red number, a stage in the shifting size of the *khato*-holding in question. The intermediate number is never used in a total, and seems as irrelevant to the final purpose of Text B as the original black numbers that I conjecture to have been out of date. There are even cases where the black number after red  $\text{𐀓}$  ends the line (9, 13; 20, 19); probably in both cases, and certainly in the second of them, this black number is not used in the total. In 9, 15; 10, 19; 20, 4  $\text{𐀓}$  occurs three times, the first time followed by a black number, and the second and third times by red numbers. In § 23, to which 20, 4 belongs, there are various irregularities in the entries, and it is not quite clear how the area of 145 arouras in the total was arrived at; it seems necessary to suppose that the scribe who wrote this total utilized not only the red 5 at the end of 20, 4, but also the red 15 just preceding it; but in this case why did he not use also both red figures in 19, 31 and 20, 2? As an alternative it might be suggested that he used either the black 15 in 19, 30 or that in 20, 4—but then, why not both? The final conclusion which we reach concerning § 23 is that by some muddling the scribe included 15 arouras too much in his total.

The entries just mentioned are closely paralleled by 20, 24, where the original black number is followed by  $\text{𐀓} \text{𐀓} \text{𐀓} \text{𐀓} \text{𐀓}$  'Balance, arable land 25 (arouras). Balance, 20' all in red. So too exactly similarly in 21, 3, where the two red numbers are 20 and 35 respectively. But here in § 25 it is plainly only the two final numbers, i.e. 20 in 20, 24 and 35 in 21, 3, that are used in the total, which gives 100 arouras and includes the normally written 45 arouras of 20, 27.<sup>2</sup> In these cases I believe the intermediate number in red to

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 35 f.; p. 165, n. 3. Also the place-name clearly to be read  $\text{𐀓} \text{𐀓} \text{𐀓} \text{𐀓} \text{𐀓}$  in Text A (19, 22; 21, 5) begins in Text B (15, 14; 19, 15, but see 19, 13) with signs that more resemble  $\text{𐀓} \text{𐀓}$ .

<sup>2</sup>  $20 + 45 + 35 = 100$ . It is strange that just these numbers, in the same order, are the components of the total of 100 arouras in the next paragraph (§ 26).



be no mere abnormal substitution of red for black ink, since into them enters a factor which I ought to have mentioned earlier. In the great majority of final statements of area added in red, the sign  $\lambda$  is followed by the sign  $\mathfrak{Y}$  for 'arable land' (*kryt*),<sup>1</sup> so much so that the presence of  $\mathfrak{Y}$  before the final number may be taken as an indication that the ultimate registrar of area has been at work, though the occasional absence of this  $\mathfrak{Y}$  (e.g. 13, 8; 20, 27; 21, 8. 11. 18) does not prove the contrary.<sup>2</sup> The absence of  $\mathfrak{Y}$  in the five examples just quoted remains unexplained; in two others (15, 8; 18, 10) we may perhaps guess, on account of its presence before the intermediate figure, that the ultimate registrar wrote this, but that because of some further modification of area he had to add another red  $\lambda$  followed by a red number before adding up his areas and writing the total.

It seems hardly necessary to put on record all minor varieties of the entries with  $\lambda$ , but mention must be made of the fact that the scribe has often found it necessary to place such an entry above the line, instead of in it. Good examples are (e.g.) 8, 19. 31; 9, 7; 11, 10; 12, 30; 16, 23; and in all these cases the reason appears to be that an additional note or memorandum had already been written, so that there remained no room for the all-important final red entry.

One might be tempted to suppose that the first figure provides the earliest account of the area of a plot of *khato*-land, and that the added figures after  $\lambda$  invariably give the balance left after deductions have been made. If this were true, the figures would of course always have to present the appearance of a diminishing series. There is nothing to prohibit this possibility. Thus in B 4, 23 the successive numbers are 20, 13, and 5, the last as correction of a cancelled 3. So too in 8, 2 black 40 is followed by black 2, in 8, 3 black 3 by red 2, in 8, 10 black 10 by red 5, accordingly in these examples always in a diminishing series, whatever the colour of the ink. But in 8, 31 the numbers are 13, 22½, 20; in 13, 19 they are 10, 10, 20; in 19, 24 they are 30, 20, 40. In 13, 16, curiously enough, all three numbers are 10. Such observations could be multiplied *ad libitum*. *Khato*-plots sometimes dwindled in area, sometimes increased. No rule can be established.

Text B has a certain number of entire lines that have been added later, most of them inserted in red between already existing lines (e.g. 8, 20. 26; 12, 15. 17) or at the end of the paragraph before the total (e.g. 19, 16; 20, 21; in black, 24, 36). Corrections and cancellations are by no means rare, and are sometimes alluded to by strange diacritical marks placed in front of the lines, e.g. 10, 6. 7; the sign  $\mathfrak{P}$ , which may mean 'put right', 'corrected',<sup>3</sup> appears to be used occasionally before lines that have been cancelled (e.g. 13, 20. 21; 15, 22), though elsewhere (e.g. 10, 17. 21) the signification is not apparent. In 19, 26 we find a unique diacritical mark for which I have suggested the transcription  $\mathfrak{J}\mathfrak{J}\mathfrak{J}$  ('feet beaten' ??); this is found also once in Text A (27, 5) and once in the Amiens papyrus, always in connexion with a completely cancelled entry; I have nothing to add to my comment on this symbol in *JEA*, xxvii, 53, n. 1. Against one paragraph-heading (15, 7) we find a sign resembling  $\mathfrak{A}$  and against another (10, 2) the rather similar sign  $\mathfrak{B}$ ; the latter occurs also after the sign  $\mathfrak{C}$  in an unfinished total (19, 7); what these were intended to convey is obscure. If the sign at the beginning of 15, 6 and that at the end of 15, 22 are really both to be read  $\mathfrak{F}$ , then this will presumably mean 'examined' (*smtr*), but on certain Rameside ostraca a large  $\mathfrak{E}$  is found scrawled over the text, and is presumably to be understood as 'copied' (*sphr*).

The above account by no means exhausts the smallest additions to Text B, but I am reluctant to dwell longer on matters so obscure. I now, therefore, turn to the more extended notes sometimes appended to the statements of area. These often add so much to the original lines that they intrude far into the following page, e.g. B 3, 21; 4, 3; 8, 6. Notes of the kind are plentiful in the earlier part of the text, but practically cease after B 17, there being only one such on each of the three pages B 18. 19. 22

<sup>1</sup> Or alternatively by the group for *njb* 'fresh land', 12, 17. 22.

<sup>2</sup> It so happens that in § 26, the paragraph containing the total used as my first illustration on p. 183, the sign  $\mathfrak{Y}$  was exceptionally absent from all three red numbers entering into the total.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 66, n. 1. *Wb.* 1, 219, 8. 9 attributes to this sign a rather different meaning (*vorhanden, anwesend*), but the

examples quoted from the *Sethosrechnungen* give no clue to the meaning. In *Hieratic Papyri* (*Chester Beatty Gift*), Text, p. 52 I suggested that an example there found might signify 'yes'. In my edition of *P. Chester Beatty I* there is in Pl. 11 an example in front of a line from which the scribe had omitted a word, and had later added it in red above the line. In *Ostr. Cairo 25572*, rt. 6 (ed. Černý) the sign again stands before a cancelled line.



and none on the rest. It has already been mentioned that a certain number of the notes were obviously written after a first  $\lambda$  had been added accompanied by its black number, so that when a further  $\lambda$  was added together with a red number, these had to be written above the line, there being no room for them between the black number and the note. Examples were quoted above, and I have counted 16 with superimposed additional number and 9 without it (e.g. 8, 6. 11; 9, 5. 6). It must not be imagined, however, that all these marginal notes were added at the stage when the annotator was following up his red  $\lambda$  with a black figure. I have counted 11 cases where the marginal note follows a red figure after  $\lambda$  within the line, not superimposed; of these 11 cases (e.g. 6, 20; 9, 20; 13, 20) there are three (7, 6; 10, 20; 16, 12) where there is an intervening  $\lambda$  with black figure. A case (13, 9) can be quoted where the final stage consisted of a second  $\lambda$  + red figure; but a note had accompanied the first  $\lambda$  + red figure, so that the second one had to be added above line level. In conclusion, there is not a single example of such a note unless some additional figure has been added to the original black one, though in 8, 26. 33 we find red additional lines which contain only one figure (naturally in red) accompanied by a note.

The above minute details have been necessary to show that the practice of making occasional marginal annotations continued down to the time when the second (or third) hand was ready to add up his totals, and we shall see that account was taken of them in some of the totals. Now we must examine the annotations themselves. The commonest sort, beginning with the words  $\lambda \text{ } \text{m } i\dot{h}wty$  (?) 'in cultivation by', lit. 'in (with?) the cultivator (?)' of (?), or simply  $\text{ } \text{m } i\dot{h}wty$  without the preposition  $\lambda$  (e.g. 5, 14; 18, 4; 19, 30), unfortunately writes  $\text{ } \text{m } i\dot{h}wty$  with a highly cursive sign of which the forms are collected in note *b* on B 2 A, x+4 in Pl. 50 A, and although unable to suggest an alternative interpretation, I have to confess that the value  $\text{ } \text{m } i\dot{h}wty$  is not proved up to the hilt.<sup>2</sup> Excluding the occurrences in totals, I have counted twenty-one examples of this formula, but one or two are doubtful. By way of illustration I give one complete instance:

B 9, 6  $\lambda \text{ } \text{m } i\dot{h}wty$  in cultivation by the chief of *thr*-warriors  $\text{ } \text{K}en\dot{h}ikhopshef$ .

The same man with the same title (see p. 81) occurs also in the same formula 8, 17 A. 31; 12, 30, as well as (8, 9; 9, 7) in the formula with *m prt* to be discussed below; another chief of *thr*-warriors named  $\text{ } \text{Ra}^{\text{messempir}e}$  is found in the formula with *m i\dot{h}wty* in 17, 24 in a locality belonging to Zone IV of Text A (Table II, No. 38), and is also mentioned three times in Text A, though not in the same locality, once as a holder of land (91, 20), once as agent of a scribe (90, 8) and once in charge of donated land (85, 16). The other examples of the formula where a title is given (only a name in B 10, 9. 20; 16, 32; 17, 29; 19, 30) have always that of a  $\text{ } \text{m } i\dot{h}wty$  Sherden (see p. 80), cf. 2 A, x+4; 3, 21. 26; 6, 20; 8, 11. 26; 10, 1 A. 3 A. 4 A; 17, 27. 28, and in one of these cases (3, 21) three such Mediterranean auxiliary soldiers appear to have worked the same parcel of *khato*-land conjointly. We shall see in the further notes on the totals that here was a special point to be emphasized in this particular style of annotation.

Less common is the formula  $\lambda \text{ } \text{m } prt \text{ } n$  'with seed (-corn) of', which lacks the initial preposition in two examples (6, 7; 11, 10) and the genitive exponent *n* in 9, 7; 18, 19, in 9, 7 only because the 'ditto'-signs  $\text{ } \text{z}$ — replace the usual title and name. Several of the nine examples are incomplete, and the best one to quote, in spite of the absence of any title, is

B 18, 19  $\lambda \text{ } \text{m } prt \text{ } n$  'with seed (-corn) of 'Osēt'.

As in the formula previously discussed two chiefs of *thr*-warriors are here found,  $\text{ } \text{K}en\dot{h}ikhopshef$  aforementioned (8, 9; 9, 7) and another named  $\text{ } \text{Usima}^{\text{r}e}\text{nakhte}$  (14, 15) who is recalled also in the total 14, 26, as well as being found in charge of a piece of donated land in A 48, 9. Again here Sherden people are to the fore, one acting with his brothers in 8, 6 and another unnamed occurring in 9, 5. A 'stable-master' (*hry ih*) is found in 11, 10 and a very uncertain 'herdsman' (*mnitw*) in 2 A, x+5. This reference

<sup>1</sup> Not *m iht* 'in cultivated land of', in which case the determinatives  $\text{ } \text{z}$  would have been used. It was pointed out also (p. 66) that there is no verb 'to cultivate' from this stem, so that 'cultivator' seems the only alternative, ill as it suits the present context.

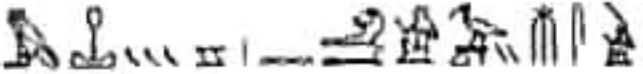
<sup>2</sup> For the Ramesside forms of this sign see Möller, *Hieratische*


*Paläographie*, 11, No. 463, but neither there nor in Text A is there any form at all close to those of Text B. Nor is the Saitic form quoted by Spiegelberg (*Demotica*, 11, 52-4, in *Sitzb. Bayer. Ak.*, 1928, 2) in the least comparable, apart from the fact that it is many centuries later in date.






to seed is surprising, if the sense is that the seed was supplied by the person in question, since there seems some possibility that seed was normally furnished by the government, as in Ptolemaic times;<sup>1</sup> at least it has been made highly probable that the government fixed the amount of land to be sown (see pp. 115 f.), and it may have provided the seed as well. We shall discover from the totals, however, that the supplying of the seed was not meant to be taken as an act apart from the actual cultivation of the plot, but was apparently additional to such cultivation; in other words *m prt n* presupposes and replaces the other formula *m ihwty*.

A much rarer formula is exemplified in

B 15, 1  'as donation (*hmk*) of the mayor Dhutmosē', lit. 'in donated land of, &c.'

This and the neighbouring examples have been commented upon briefly in my discussion of the donations recorded by Text A (pp. 86 f.). The mayor in question is said in B 15, 3 to be dead and no longer in office. Presumably he was the successor of Muimwēse mentioned in the heading to the paragraph, and I have conjectured that the town where the latter held office may have been Memphis itself, see p. 162. This would, however, mean that the interval between the original writing of Text A and the work of the final annotator was sufficient to include a whole term of office as mayor. In the examples 6, 29; 15, 28 a lacuna follows *m hmk* and it cannot be seen whether a proper name follows; in both cases the hieratic signs for  are visible in the photographic plate. In 13, 20 we appear to have 'donation of the god, the Sherden . . . . .'. Reference will be made later to the occurrence of the word *hmk* in a total, 18, 28.

Three annotations beginning with  in 'by' occur in 7, 6; 13, 9; 22, 25, and the first and third appear to mention scribes who were somehow instrumental at this point. The remaining annotations are all individual in character, and there are usually lacunae or difficulties of reading which bar the way to comprehension. We are not permitted to learn in what way the '[scribe] of the despatch-office of Pharaoh [Raṯmess]enakhte' was introduced in 4, 3. In the comment 'it was found . . . by the First Prophet' in 8, 7 I do not render  by 'cultivated' because, as pointed out several times already, there seems no evidence for a verb *ih* 'to cultivate', though we have *ih* 'cultivated land' and *ihwty* 'cultivator'. In 12, 8 my reading includes some rather desperate guesses, but appears to yield the meaning 'it was found dry in the first month of winter (in the) town the New land of Nuru'. The first part of this recalls the remark *ih* *gm šw* 'cultivable land found dry' twice in Text A (p. 94); that such a note is to be expected in Text B, no less than in Text A, is suggested by the isolated  of B 9, 14, which may well be identical with the difficult group often found in entries of Text A and possibly to be interpreted 'it was not seen' (p. 95); both annotations would belong to the class of those designed to explain why a particular plot was not counted or not liable to taxation. The place-name in 12, 8 is confirmed by 19, 3, but cannot be located. One other red additional note comprises a place-name; this is 'in Yaya' (16, 12), if I have read it aright; there seems some doubt about the matter, since in Text A Yaya is in Zone III (see Table II, No. 2), whereas here it appears to be associated with Heracleopolis, the mayor of that city being named in the paragraph-heading.

The few remaining annotations not yet noticed are too unintelligible even to be enumerated. In order to see, or at least to catch a glimpse of, the purpose of these red additions we must return to a consideration of the totals, a topic already broached in preliminary fashion above, pp. 179 f., 183 f.

## 12. Details in connexion with the totals

Analysis of §§ 18. 26 has shown that the only areas taken up into the totals are those added in red by a second hand, and that the lines where these additional figures occur are regularly preceded by a red dot which enables them to be quickly recognized. The conclusion thus established for two paragraphs gives the rule for all, but there are enough difficulties, complications and exceptional cases to warrant a more thoroughgoing investigation. It will be better to start from the end of Text B and to work backwards, since the later paragraphs are shorter and on that account simpler, as well as being better preserved.

<sup>1</sup> C. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*, pp. 119–20. [See, however, the demotic legal papyrus from Tūnah el-Gebel as reported in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 1946, p. 48.]



Some repetition of previously stated facts is inevitable. Page B 25 has no red additional figures and consequently no finished totals, and after § 46 on page B 24 the red sign  $\equiv$  for 'total' is not inserted as heretofore, probably because the original scribe wished to save space and also foresaw that in such short paragraphs to devote a line to adding up two figures, or to merely repeating one, would be quite superfluous. In point of fact, though the sign for 'total' is written as far as § 46, it is not actually utilized after § 33. That paragraph itself shows how redundant the line with the total is when only one additional red figure has occurred; in 22, 28 the red addition gives 'arable land, 10 (arouras)' and this is reiterated in the total two lines later as 'Total, arable land, 10 (arouras), making 5', i.e. equivalent to 5 arouras of 'fresh land' (*njb*, see above, pp. 179 f.). So too § 19, except for one detail to be mentioned later. In many paragraphs from the middle of the same page B 22 onward, when there is only one red added figure, such redundancy is avoided by placing  $\equiv$  *z x* 'making *x* arouras' after the said red figure, thus making this replace the total as well as serving its own particular purpose, see §§ 31. 32. 34. 36-9. 41. 49. 51-2, together with an isolated earlier example, § 16.

It is only towards the end of Text B that paragraphs without completed totals, even in the truncated form just described, become really frequent. The paragraphs in question are §§ 3. 13. 20. 27-9. 35. 40. 42-8. 50. 53-65. In the majority of these there is no additional red writing at all, but in § 13 a cancellation of red  $\lambda$  + black 20 in one line is followed by *m hnk* . . . . 'as donation of . . . .'; § 20 calls attention to its unfinished total with the sign  $\lambda$  (19, 7), the sense of which is obscure; in § 35 there is an additional red line concluding with red  $\lambda$  + red number, but that red number appears to have been the equivalent of a black one, since it does not lead to the writing of a total; in § 53 there is a doubtful red  $\lambda$  followed by a numeral in black, and a diacritical mark in front of the line. It is interesting to find § 3 without red additional numbers and without a finished total, for we found this paragraph to be abnormal in another respect as well (pp. 175 f.).

Three paragraphs in which there is only one red additional number, but a total is given none the less, are §§ 14. 19. 33, as already noted. The paragraphs which have two or more, sometimes many more, red numbers and where the total contains at least some corroboration of the fact that only red numbers are taken up into the total are §§ 7. 8. 12. 15. 17. 18. 21. 22. 24. 25. 26. 30. These include the two taken as samples on p. 183, and in many of them the additions are so simple and the facts so free of complications that it is useless to dwell upon them further. Before § 7 detailed discussion of the totals is rendered impossible by lacunae in the foregoing items. It is a pity that the complicated total at the top of page B 10 is not better preserved, since the high numbers suggest that we should here have found the sum total of §§ 1-6, i.e. that of all the red numbers attaching to plots administered by the Steward Usima'rēnakhte. At the end of §§ 7. 8 the three qualities of land are at first separately totalled and in the case of 'fresh land' and 'tired land' the previously specified items enable us to verify the additions; probably at the ends of each of these two totals there was a fresh total giving, as in 19, 27 (§ 22) discussed above on pp. 179 f., the sum of the different kinds of land in terms of 'fresh land'.<sup>1</sup>

The total of § 9 presents difficulties. The items preceding it add up to something like the 125 arouras given in the total, but there are various cancellations among those items, as well as some lacunae, which I cannot reconcile either with the said 125 arouras or with the cancelled 'balances' ( $\lambda$ ) in the total.<sup>2</sup> On the meaning of such a balance or final statement of account the total of § 12 sheds light. Here we

read 'Total, arable land, 40 arouras, making 20 arouras, balance 15'. The previous items, as originally written, show 40 arouras as the sum of the final red figures (20 + 10 + 10), but the last 10 arouras have been subsequently cancelled, and this reduces the 40 arouras to a balance of 30 or, after halving, the 20 arouras (of 'fresh land') to a balance of 15.

<sup>1</sup> The totals at the end of § 7 are discussed above on p. 180, together with n. 1. In § 8 we see that the three red figures above 8, 6, or at all events the first two of them, were taken up into the total, these referring to *njb*- and *tnl*-land respectively. I can make nothing of the final number 60½ in the total; supposing that the 20 arouras of *tnl*-land are reduced to 15 on the principle set forth on p. 180, then we should obtain 23 arouras as the

figure for *kryt*-land, since  $34 + \frac{3 \times 20}{4} + \frac{23}{2} = 60\frac{1}{2}$ ; it is true that I seemed to see 11 shortly after *kryt* in the total, and this would suit  $\frac{23}{2} = 11\frac{1}{2}$ ; but adding up the red items on the preceding page, I find considerably more than 23 arouras of *kryt*-land.

<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the 10 arouras of 'tired land' in 13, 7 are ignored in the total. But apparently they were cancelled.



In the total of § 10 a new detail of interest is encountered. Just as in §§ 7. 8. 22 the three qualities of land were at first separately summed up in the total, so too this total keeps apart the one and only item of 'arable land' (the superlinear red 12 arouras in 14, 15) from the land cultivated by the 'chief of *thr*-warriors Usima'rē[nakhte]', which that same entry had quoted through the formula 'with seed of the chief of *thr*-warriors Usima'rē[nakhte], 7'. Probably the lacuna at the end of the total is too short to have included the figure (7). The procedure here presupposed is confirmed by § 17, where the total reads 'Total, arable land, 13 (arouras), making 6½ arouras. (*space*) (In) cultivation by Sherden, 65 arouras, making 32½ arouras'. The items composing the 13 arouras (5+8) are easily found, and so too are those attributed to the Sherden people in the first three entries of the paragraph, namely 15+40+10. It is curious that there is no further total adding the 13+65 = 78 arouras together, just as in the paragraphs above specified the three qualities of land were added together. However, there is likewise no totalling of the ordinary arable land and the land cultivated by Sherden people in the totals of §§ 2. 4. 5. 6, where the same distinction was evidently made. The ways in which the totals are arrived at in these last paragraphs are obscured by the many lacunae, as well as by other difficulties, but at least it is clear that what is given in the totals as '(In) cultivation by Sherden' includes items showing the formula 'with seed of'. Hence my remark above (p. 187) that the supplying of seed was not to be considered as an alternative to cultivation, but as something additional to it—the Sherden both cultivated the land and supplied the seed, unless the *n* sometimes found after *m prt* is to be understood as the sign of the dative, and we have to understand 'with seed to' rather than 'with seed of'. It is noticeable that in the totals the word 'Sherden' is not followed by a proper name; it could not be in § 17 at all events, since there the preceding items had named three Sherden people.

Another case of separate specification in the totals might sometimes apparently be afforded by land disposed of by donation. At all events the total of § 19 introduces by means of the word *ḥnk* 'donated land' an area of 20 arouras of arable land, though oddly enough we look in vain for any mention of this donation among the foregoing items. Equally oddly, though the formula 'as donation of' is found as an appended red note in other paragraphs, elsewhere than in § 19 it never receives separate mention in the totals, though it might easily have done so in § 11.

### 13. Conclusion

At the end of this long commentary, what assured new facts have been ascertained with regard to *khato*-land of Pharaoh? We have to admit that much remains obscure and that more material is urgently needed to lighten our darkness. It is certain, at least, that *khato*-land was usually entrusted to individual functionaries, prominent among whom were especially the prophets of local temples. *Khato*-land is also seen to have lain, for the most part, on land in other respects definitely the possession of temples or other land-owning institutions, and in view of the variability of the areas as attested by the added red numbers, as well as of the fact that *khato*-land had in some cases previously been ascribed to a private individual, there seems a possibility that this kind of Royal land was land which, though represented as in the possession of the temples, had temporarily reverted to the Crown, or was not yet in full possession of its potential owners. The meaning of the amounts summed up in the totals is perhaps the most enigmatic point about Text B. Since these totals couple the ordinarily stated amounts with others said to be now cultivated by Sherden people or to have been disposed of as donations, the red figures in the totals might merely summarize recent deductions from the much larger amounts of land given in the body of the paragraphs. But this suggestion does not square with the established meaning of the word for 'balance'.

Taking a broad view of the contents of Text B we see that the functionary or priest mentioned in the headings had authority, not only over those *khato*-lands existing upon the fields appertaining to his own office or temple, but also over other *khato*-lands belonging to temples in the three capital cities and to a few other land-owning institutions as well. His function seems thus to have been similar to that exercised on behalf of the great temples by the *rwḏw* 'controllers', and indeed, as §§ 54-7, 59-61 show, the Crown itself did employ for its *khato*-lands some officials bearing that title. This might explain, too, why the



charge was a personal one; a temple-administration as such would be concerned solely with its own property, not with that of other temples, however large and important. It is noticeable that no local priest is appointed to look after the *khato*-lands on fields of any other small neighbouring temple; apart from such *khato*-lands as were situated on the fields of the temple under his own control, he was entrusted only with others belonging to larger temples situated at a distance. However, in order to be able in any circumstances to deliver the taxes due to the Crown from its *khato*-lands under his charge he would need to be a man of substance. The Crown would have to know that he was producing enough corn to cover all its demands, and in addition to this it was obviously desirable, as a matter of public policy, that as much land as possible should be capably cultivated. Perhaps that is the meaning of the *ts prt* or 'sowing order' discussed above, pp. 114 ff. The Bologna letter there quoted makes it clear that the sowing order was in respect of the total amount of corn to be produced at harvest-time by the prophet in question, and it is neither said nor hinted that the whole of this was payable to the Crown. The same conclusion seems to emerge from the other letter from the larger Bologna papyrus (a Miscellany) translated on p. 168; there it is noticeable that when the prophet Pra'emhab complains of the excessive order (*ts*) imposed upon him he points not only to the size of the *khato*-lands under his charge, but also to that of the temple where he served; thus it would seem that the order referred to the total amount of land he was called upon to cultivate in order to meet any obligations resting upon him. This again may explain why, as we saw on p. 182, the number of sacks attached to the heading bears no definite proportion to the extent of the *khato*-lands in the body of the paragraph. If that number of sacks refers to the quota known as the *ts prt*, then its calculation will have been based upon the total of property of all kinds at the disposal of the functionary or priest in question.



## CHAPTER II

### TEXT B. SYNOPSIS OF PARAGRAPH-HEADINGS

**Heading (B 1, 1-2) entirely lost.**

§ 1 (B 1, 2) [*Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of] the Royal scribe, the steward Usima<sup>r</sup>ēnakhte . . . . .

On the personality and functions of Usima<sup>r</sup>ēnakhte, who is the official in charge of all the *khato*-lands named in §§ 1-6, see in the Synopsis of Text A, under § 52. He was a son of the High-priest of Amūn Ra<sup>m</sup>essenakhte, see p. 20. On the practical certainty that it was he who was meant by the title 'the Chief Taxing-master' in §§ 200-1 of that text, see in the Synopsis under § 201 and p. 169, n. 4 above; for a further scrap of evidence see below under § 3.

After the name of Usima<sup>r</sup>ēnakhte there doubtless followed, as in §§ 2-6, a general description of the region in which were situated the *khato*-lands included in this paragraph. It seems likely that this region corresponded roughly to Zone IV of Text A, see above, p. 175.

§ 2 (B 2, 2) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under his authority (in) the . . . . .

'His' in this and the next four paragraphs refers to Usima<sup>r</sup>ēnakhte of § 1. If, as seems probable, there was no new paragraph-heading before 5, 15, the region here in question will have comprised, not only much of Zones II and III of Text A, but also fields near Ḥardai (Cynopolis) and Ḥ-nesu in the neighbourhood of Shārūnah on the East Bank. See above, p. 175.

§ 3 (B 5, 15) *Kha*[*to*-land] of Pharaoh under his authority (in) the middle country [of] . . . . . ,  
(administered) [by] the hand of the scribe Pbēs.

On the great difficulties presented by the place-names mentioned in this paragraph see above, pp. 175 f. The scribe Pbēs is mentioned as a subordinate of the Steward Usima<sup>r</sup>ēnakhte in A 50, 35; 59, 29 (= 51, 11); 67, 23, and as cultivating *khato*-land for the Chief Taxing-master in A 68, 2; the same man probably also in A 22, 24; 28, 25, 27; 33, 29. The localities in these mentions of Text A are not named in § 3 of Text B.

§ 4 (B 6, 3) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under his authority (in) the . . . . .

The brief description of the region covered by this paragraph is unfortunately completely lost. The place-names suggest Zone I of Text A and beyond it northward or westward, though still within the Heracleopolite nome, see above, p. 176.

§ 5 (B 7, 24) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under his authority starting from the backland of Heracleopolis in Memphis (on) the East Bank—(administered) by the hand of the deputy Ḥōri.

The heading here and the region covered by the places named in the paragraph are thoroughly discussed above, pp. 176 f. The twofold mention of T<sup>p</sup>ēḥu (Aṯfih) indicates the general position. The last words have been added in red by a later hand; nothing more is known of the deputy Ḥōri, unless he be identical with the man in A 43, 8.

§ 6 (B 9, 11) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under his authority starting from Pi-tjesy-[Ḥu] (in) Me[mphis?] . . . . .

For this heading and the region covered by this paragraph, which has points of contact with Section I of Text A and with § 4 of Text B, see above, pp. 177 f. [For the place-name see in the Additions and Corrections, on p. 117, n. 2.]

§ 7 (B 10, 2) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the standard-bearer of the Residence Merenptah.

For the military officer here mentioned see in the Synopsis of Text A, under § 44, and above, p. 162. Four of the plots mentioned in this paragraph occur also in Text A, see the first of the two references just given, and also above, p. 178.

§ 8 (B 12, 1) [*Khato*-land of] Pharaoh [under the authority of the stand]ard-bearer of the Residence Usima<sup>r</sup>ēnakhte (on) the West Bank.

The unknown military officer here mentioned is obviously the counterpart of Merenptah of § 7, see p. 162. For the West Bank see pp. 174 f., and for some difficulties connected with places named in this paragraph see pp. 176 f.



§ 9 (B 13, 2) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the Overseer of Prophets (administered) by the hand of the [scribe] Kha<sup>c</sup>emtir and the scribe Yō<sup>c</sup>.

The Overseer of Prophets, here assisted by two otherwise unknown scribes, is found in charge of *khato*-land in § 114 of Text A, and of *minē*-land in §§ 40. 198, in the latter of which his name is given as Merybarsē; see Table III, under Merybarsē (2).

§ 10 (B 14, 6) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Ḥatiay, the overseer of fields of the Southern Province.

The official here named does not occur elsewhere in the papyrus; for his title see p. 162, n. 3.

§ 11 (B 14, 27) [*Khato*-land of] Pharaoh under the authority of the mayor Muimwēse (sacks, 3000).

The six mayors here given in consecutive paragraphs belong to towns apparently arranged in topographical sequence from north to south. For that reason and also on account of the large number of sacks appended to the name—this is the first entry of the kind—I have conjectured that he was mayor of Memphis itself, see pp. 162. 182. The only likely alternative is Aphroditopolis.

§ 12 (B 15, 7) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Seti, the mayor of Mi-wēr, (administered) by the hand of the district-scribe Pentwēre.

Mi-wēr is Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb, better known to Egyptologists as Gurob. In Text A its mayor is nameless; see in the Synopsis of that text, under § 42. His subordinate Pentwēre is not mentioned elsewhere in the papyrus; for the title, which recalls the Greek *τοπογραμματεύς*, see *JEA*, xxii, 181, n. on 3, 4.

§ 13 (B 15, 24) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Ipuḥ, the mayor of Southern She.

Southern She seems identical with the town close to Mi-wēr that was often called simply She. Its mayor, for whom see the Synopsis of Text A, under § 43, is there not named.

§ 14 (B 16, 9) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the mayor of Ninsu (administered) by the hand of the scribe Sebkhotpe.

The papyrus makes no other mention of this mayor, nor yet of the scribe here named.

§ 15 (B 16, 21) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the mayor of Spermeru (sacks, 1000).

For Spermeru see pp. 41 f. and under § 92 in the Synopsis of Text A; its mayor is mentioned as in charge of *khato*-land in § 202 of that text.

§ 16 (B 17, 13) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Nefertabē, the mayor of Ḥarsperu.

For Ḥarsperu = Ḥardai (Cynopolis) see pp. 50 ff. The mayor Nefertabē, here evidently mentioned as alive and still in office, is given as dead in A 56, 46-7. For a suggested explanation see pp. 183 f.

§ 17 (B 17, 26) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Pkatjana, the overseer of cattle of The Mansion in the House of Ptah (sacks, —).

The temple in question was a foundation of Ramesses II at Memphis. For it and its overseer of cattle Pkatja, whose name is here written in the fuller form Pkatjana, see the Synopsis of Text A, under § 149.

§ 18 (B 18, 5) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet(s) of Arsaphes, five persons (makes sacks, 1000).

That the prophets of the main temple of Heracleopolis Magna are meant is clear from B 18, 6, see under § 4 in the Synopsis of Text A. This is the only case in which a plurality of prophets is thus made responsible for *khato*-land.

§ 19 (B 18, 18) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Ra<sup>c</sup>mosē who is dead and who was (formerly) overseer of cattle of The Mansion in the House of Amūn.

For this overseer of cattle attached to the temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu see the Synopsis of Text A, under § 136, where he is likewise described as deceased.

§ 20 (B 18, 29) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Ra<sup>c</sup>messemḥab of Memphis (sacks, —).

Nothing more is known about this official, about his rank, or about the sphere in which he functioned.



§ 21 (B 19, 8) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the (Overseer) of the King's Apartments of the Harem of Mi-wēr.

For this unnamed superintendent of the Royal Harem at Mi-wēr (Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb) see the Synopsis of Text A, under §§ 41. 48. For the Harem in this place see pp. 45 f.

§ 22 (B 19, 18) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Hōri, prophet of the House of Anubis, lord of Harsperu.

Nothing more is known about this prophet, but for Harsperu, i.e. Hardai (Cynopolis), see pp. 50 ff., where will be found outside references to its god Anubis, not mentioned in Text A. It is obviously this temple that is alluded to in the words 'on fields of the House of Anubis' in B 13, 16; 19, 24.

§ 23 (B 19, 28) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Huy, prophet of Seth, lord of Spermeru (sacks, —).

This prophet and his god are frequently mentioned in Text A, see Table III, under Huy (3), but neither occurs again in Text B, though mentions of the town are there fairly frequent; besides § 15 above, see (e.g.) 3, 9; 16, 23. 24; 17, 8. 28 in indications of locality.

§ 24 (B 20, 7) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Raṣemuia, the Steward of the House of Ptaḥ (sacks, 700).

On this otherwise unknown steward of some temple in Memphis see p. 163.

§ 25 (B 20, 23) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Raṣmesseusikhōpesh, prophet of the House of Suchus the Shedtite (sacks, 1000).

That the prophet here named may be identical with the prophet Raṣmesseusihikhopshef recorded as a holder of land in A 14, 9, belonging to Crocodilopolis (Shedē), not (e.g.) to Rē-n-ḥōnē (El-Lāhūn), where Suchus the Shedtite was also worshipped (A § 20), is indicated by the next paragraph (§ 26), where the prophet Sunero is in all probability the same person as in A § 14. For Crocodilopolis see pp. 42 ff. and the Synopsis of Text A, under § 12.

§ 26 (B 21, 7) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet Amenemuia (administered) by the hand of the prophet Sunero (sacks, 1000).

For Sunero see on § 25, and for the possibility that the otherwise unknown Amenemuia was an aged colleague see p. 163.

§ 27 (B 21, 20) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Pmerēḥu, who is dead and was overseer of cattle of Amūn (sacks, 200).

This official, whose name is curiously identical with the essential part of his title, evidently belonged to the great temple of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, i.e. Karnak. He was doubtless a predecessor of Raṣmessenakhte, on whom see the Synopsis of Text A, under § 111.

§ 28 (B 21, 30) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Hōri, the overseer of cattle of the Mansion of Usimaṣrē-miamūn in the House of Amūn.

This overseer of cattle of Medīnet Habu is represented in § 135 of Text A as no longer in office, but here he is mentioned as in the exercise of his functions. For the probable explanation see pp. 183 f.

§ 29 (B 22, 7) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Penḥasi, prophet of the House of Mont (sacks, 100).

This prophet Penḥasi occurs in 29, 20. 27 of Text A, where see § 62 for the temple, or rather chapel (*ḥntw*), of Mont in which he served. As is confirmed by B 22, 8, it lay in the Village of Inroyshes, an often mentioned place in Zone II, see Table II, No. 49.

§ 30 (B 22, 10) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Penpmer, prophet of the House of Nephthys (sacks, 100).

Two temples of Nephthys appear to be mentioned in the Wilbour papyrus, (1) at Su (all but certain), see Synopsis of Text A, under § 28, and (2) at Spermeru, *loc. cit.*, under § 94. B 22, 11 shows that the latter was meant in this paragraph, but the prophet Penpmer occurs only here, Text A naming as prophet one Merybarsē.



§ 31 (B 22, 16) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Maḥu, prophet of the House of Amūn (of the) Harbour (sacks, 100).

Nothing is known of this prophet or of his temple. On its probable location see p. 164.

§ 32 (B 22, 21) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Ḥōri, prophet of the House of the Lady of 'Akhwey (sacks, 100).

See under § 264 in the Synopsis of Text A for this prophet, goddess and temple; the site is Es-Sirīyah, 18 km. north of Tihna, on the East bank; the temple is named after 'on fields of' in B 13, 6 as well as here B 22, 22.

§ 33 (B 22, 26) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Pentwēre, prophet of the Temple of Raṁmesse-miamūn, Beloved of his Army (sacks, —).

That the temple of this unknown prophet lay in the Heracleopolite nome is clear from the only other mention, Cairo, *Journ. d'entrée* 39410, l. 18 (*Mélanges Maspero*, I, 824).

§ 34 (B 22, 31) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Anḥerrekh, prophet of the House of the Lady of Tpēḥu (sacks, —).

For Tpēḥu, Aphroditopolis, Aṭfih see p. 39. Neither its goddess Ḥathōr nor yet this prophet is named again in the papyrus.

§ 35 (B 23, 4) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Henūfe, prophet of the Sunshade which is (in) She (sacks, 100).

For the temple and town see in the Synopsis of Text A under § 26, where, however, the prophet named is Amenkhaṯ.

§ 36 (B 23, 8) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Pshedu, prophet of the House of Amūn, Overthrower of His Attacker (sacks, 100).

The temple and prophet are otherwise unknown. See pp. 164 f. for its probable location in the Heracleopolite nome.

§ 37 (B 23, 14) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Ḥōri, prophet of the Temple of Raṁmesse-miamūn (in) P-tjesy-Ḥu (sacks, 50).

The locality here in question has been fully discussed p. 177, n. 2 [but see also the Additions and Corrections *ad. loc.*]. This prophet Ḥōri is not named elsewhere, and there is no reason for thinking that his temple was identical with that of Isis, founded by Ramesses II, which according to A § 34 had fields near P-tjesy-Ḥu.

§ 38 (B 23, 17) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Marye, prophet of the House of Amūn (in) Pi-Ōn (sacks, 50).

Temple and prophet are not named elsewhere. All the other mentions of Pi-Ōn are in § 5 and, as pointed out on p. 177, it may have lain just over the border of Zone II and within the Memphite nome.

§ 39 (B 23, 20) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Neferkhaṯu, prophet of the Sunshade (in) Ninsu (sacks, 100).

It is curious that another prophet of this particular Sunshade, for which see A § 7, should be mentioned below in § 65. His name was Kaha.

§ 40 (B 23, 25) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Wennofrē, prophet of Bast (sacks, 200).

B 23, 26 shows that this otherwise unknown temple of Bast was situated at Pi-Way(na), a place in Zone II often mentioned in Text A, see Table II, No. 73. For the prophet Wennofrē, who was also apparently prophet of Seth in the same place, see pp. 182 f.

§ 41 (B 23, 31) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Kēnyamūn, prophet of the House of Amūn of Tjayna (sacks, 100).

This prophet seems to be mentioned, though without his name, in the *khato*-paragraph A § 207. For the temple of his god near the point of junction of Zones II and III, see the Synopsis of Text A, under § 97.

§ 42 (B 23, 35) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of 'Ashaemḥab, the overseer of cattle of the House of Arsaphes (sacks, —).

For this overseer of cattle of the great temple of Heracleopolis, see the Synopsis of Text A, under §§ 4, 5, where comment is made on the various forms in which his name is presented.



§ 43 (B 24, 2) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Manenūfe, prophet of the House of Amūn, Founder of the Earth (sacks, —).

The temple of the Amūn who bore this epithet was in Opē, see § 96 of Text A, where this Manenūfe is described only as 'cultivator', see the comments in the Synopsis.

§ 44 (B 24, 5) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Setem, the overseer of cattle of the Mansion of Meneptah in the House of Ptaḥ (sacks, 500).

For this Memphite official and the temple which employed him see the Synopsis of Text A, under § 240.

§ 45 (B 24, 7) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Ḥōri, prophet of the House of 'Anti (sacks, —).

In Text A (see the Synopsis, under § 265) the prophet of this temple in the town of U-'Anti, presumably a little to the north of 'Akhwey (Es-Sirīyah), is named Wennofrē.

§ 46 (B 24, 11) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Kanūfe, prophet of the House of Bata, and the prophet Penḥasi.

For Kanūfe, the prophet of Bata at Sakō, and his town and god, see pp. 49 f. Penḥasi was the prophet of the House of Amūn, Foreteller of Victories, at Sakō, see Text A, § 270, and his presence here beside Kanūfe was doubtless due to the fact that the plot in question was on fields of his own temple (24, 12). For a plot on fields of the House of Bata, see 3, 4.

§ 47 (B 24, 14) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Karo, prophet of the Sunshade of the Keep of 'Onay(na) (sacks, —).

This priest is not mentioned elsewhere in the papyrus, but his temple is named in § 101 of Text A. For further details concerning the place, which was in Zone II, see the Synopsis of Text A, under § 85.

§ 48 (B 24, 16) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Ḥōri, prophet of the House of Amūn Mui-Khant (sacks, —).

For this temple at no great distance from, or actually at, Ṭihna and for its prophet Ḥōri see in the Synopsis of Text A, under § 253.

§ 49 (B 24, 20) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Siedjō, prophet of Pi-Edjō (sacks, —).

*Pr-Widy* 'House of Edjō', was not only the name of the temple, but also that of the Heracleopolite town in which it was situated, see p. 36, n. 2. Neither the temple nor its prophet are mentioned elsewhere in the papyrus. As already pointed out (p. 165, n. 2), the earliest pronunciation of the name of the goddess was something like Edjōyet, see ZÄS, LV, 89 ff. By the New Kingdom the ending *-yet* had undoubtedly disappeared; it is uncertain how far the original *dj* had yet advanced towards the ultimate sound *t*, cf. Coptic πτεπετω for *Pi-ti-n-Widy* 'the Land of Edjō'. The commonly used Buto, properly the name of the much more important Delta town where this goddess was worshipped, rests for the goddess herself solely on the authority of Stephen of Byzantium; all other Greek writers equate her with their own Leto, the mother of Apollo.

§ 50 (B 24, 23) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Nebnūfe, prophet of the House of Amūn of Mertum.

For the well-known site of Mertum, the modern Meydūm, not mentioned again in the papyrus, see Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, III, 48, and above, p. 164. It was not previously known that Amūn was its god, and his prophet Nebnūfe is not named elsewhere.

§ 51 (B 24, 27) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Ra'messenakhte, prophet of the House of Horus, lord of Ḥ-nesu (sacks, —).

This temple of the god of Ḥ-nesu is not mentioned in Text A, but occurs again in B 2, 6; 13, 14, where the *khato*-lands lying on its fields are stated to have lain in the vicinity of the temple. This was situated at Kōm el-Aḥmar Sawāris, south of Shārūnah, see p. 52. Nothing more is known of the prophet here mentioned.

§ 52 (B 24, 29) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Amenopē, prophet of the House of Seth, lord of Su (sacks, —).

The god Seth of Su is very well known (Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.*, v, 61), and the place of his cult probably lay fairly far to the north of the Heracleopolite nome, if we may argue from its position in the Harris papyrus. It seems highly probable that § 28 of Text A named a temple of his consort Nephthys built by Ramesses II, see the Synopsis *ad loc.* The prophet Amenopē is otherwise unknown.



§ 53 (B 24, 33) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Huy, (prophet) of the House of Osiris Khant-'Aru.

On this temple, which cannot have been far distant from Heracleopolis and Sidmant, see the Synopsis of Text A, under § 11. It is named after 'on fields of' in B 6, 4, possibly also in B 9, 2.

§ 54 (B 25, 1) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the controller Usihē of the House of Amūn.

For the seven 'controllers' (*rwḏw*) of this and the following paragraphs see above, p. 162. Usihē here is possibly mentioned in § 209 of Text A, where a controller of that name is referred to as working on behalf of the temple of Karnak.

§ 55 (B 25, 3) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the controller Penpiu of the House of Amūn.

This Penpiu is not mentioned elsewhere; presumably he was employed by the great temple of Karnak.

§ 56 (B 25, 5) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the controller Hōri.

Hōri was perhaps an agent of the temple of Osiris at Abydos, see p. 162.

§ 57 (B 25, 7) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the controller Haremhab of the House of Ptah.

This Haremhab is not mentioned elsewhere; presumably he worked on behalf of the ancient temple of Ptah in Memphis, for which see the Synopsis of Text A, under § 80.

§ 58 (B 25, 9) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the prophet of the House of Ptah, Harnosē, son of Penamūn.

Presumably this Harnosē was attached to the same great temple of Ptah as Haremhab of § 57, and that will have been the reason for the mention of him here in the midst of a sequence of 'controllers'.

§ 59 (B 25, 11) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the controller Hōri of the House of 'O-nakhtu.

On the problematic land-owning institution here named—'O-nakhtu means 'Great of Victories'—see above, p. 162.

§ 60 (B 25, 13) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the controller Hapiwēr of the House of Rē.

It is to be presumed that this unknown controller, like him of § 61, belonged to the central temple of Rē at Heliopolis, see above, p. 162.

§ 61 (B 25, 15) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of the controller Sebkemhab of the House of Rē.

See on § 60.

§ 62 (B 25, 17) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Piu, prophet of the House of Suchus.

The place-name in B 25, 18 suggests the neighbourhood of Anasha, see A 94, 22, but the prophets known from other mentions in the papyrus to have belonged to that town were named Ptahmosē (see below on § 64) and the second prophet Hōri, see on A § 259.

§ 63 (B 25, 19) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Amenhotpe, scribe of the House of Amūn. Since the following line refers to the Island of Amūn, Manifold of Brave Deeds, which is mentioned a few times in Text A as a locality in Zone II (see Table II, No. 17), it is to be presumed that this scribe was attached to the temple there.

§ 64 (B 25, 21) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Ptahmosē, prophet of the House of Suchus.

This Ptahmosē is shown by § 256 of Text A, combined with the place-name in B 25, 22 (cf. A 95, 30), to have been attached to the temple of Ramesses IV at Anasha. For prophets of Anasha see on § 62.

§ 65 (B 25, 23) *Khato*-land of Pharaoh under the authority of Kaḥa, prophet of the Sunshade of Ninsu.

See on § 39.



## EPILOGUE

### RETROSPECT AND TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

#### 1. Summary of Text A

THE commentaries on the two documents contained in the Wilbour papyrus have involved so much discussion of petty detail that the student may quite excusably have failed to obtain any clear perspective of either text as a whole. For this reason he will perhaps welcome a summary at least of Text A; Text B being presumably fresher in his memory will not receive a like restatement.

Text A is an account of measurements and assessments of land made over a period of about twenty-three days in the fourth year of Ramesses V. The entire document is divided into four sections each covering a different topographical area and having each occupied the official surveyors only a short space of from three to eight days. The general movement is from north to south, Section I starting from somewhere to the north of Crocodilopolis, and Section IV ending a little distance downstream from the modern town of El-Minyah. Each plot of ground measured and assessed occupies a line to itself, and a previous line exhibiting the form 'Measured in such and such a locality' provides the framework for all references to individual plots. These plots, however, are not set forth in topographical sequence, but are entered ledgerwise under the heads of religious or secular institutions which were their owners. Prominent among such institutions are temples both great and small, both distant and near at hand. In the arrangement of these Text A follows a custom made known to us by the great Harris papyrus, the Theban temples being enumerated first, then the Heliopolitan, then the Memphite, and lastly the small temples in their geographical order from south to north. One and the same temple may have several paragraphs accorded to it, each paragraph representing a particular 'domain' (*rmnyt*) or collection of plots united by the bond of being administered by a particular official or nome administration or the like. Generally speaking, the paragraphs belonging to a given temple form a consecutive series, but to this rule there is a curious exception, special paragraphs being devoted to the fields providing the herbage (for cattle) or the food for white goats belonging to the said temple, and these paragraphs are separated from the others referring to the temple and grouped together in two series farther on in the assemblage of paragraphs constituting a section. After the temples and interrupted only by the various 'herbage' and 'white goat' paragraphs just mentioned come others devoted to various secular land-owning institutions, e.g. the landing-places of Pharaoh, the Queen's house, the Royal Harems in Memphis and Mi-wēr (Moeris) and each of the four sections ends, or would end if complete, with sets of paragraphs detailing the fields belonging to two categories of Pharaonic land called respectively *minē*- and *khato*-land. These Royal lands were entrusted to various high functionaries or priests, each of these personages having a paragraph to himself.

Such is the general plan of Text A. Passing on to a scrutiny of the individual paragraphs, we observe that they fall into two very distinct varieties of which the distinguishing marks are (1) the multitude or paucity of the cultivators mentioned, and (2) the forms in which the assessments are stated. Among the paragraphs recording the fields belonging, let us say, to the temple of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu, priority is given to paragraphs in which, immediately after the line stating the place of measurement, the plot is defined and assessed in some such form as the following (a):

Land cultivated by the cultivator X: 10, mc. 5, mc. 50.

Here the first figure gives the number of arouras in the plot, the second figure the number of measures of corn at which each aroura was assessed, and the third figure the product of the other two ( $10 \times 5 = 50$ ) in terms of measures of corn. The unit of capacity rendered in my translation as mc., i.e. measures of corn, is probably the *khār* or 'sack' equivalent to 2 bushels, but there is some doubt about the matter,



and the unit might possibly be (though I am definitely opposed to that view) the *oipē*, which is  $\frac{1}{4}$  *khar*. To return to the words preceding the figures, alternative forms are (b) 'Land cultivated by the hand of the cultivator X' and (c) the extremely frequent 'Land cultivated by him', meaning the cultivator recorded in a preceding entry or in the paragraph-heading. For the uninformative title 'cultivator', which could naturally be given to anyone who cultivated a plot, is sometimes substituted another, e.g. prophet, controller, scribe or man of Sherden race.

The characteristics of this first and seemingly more important, though only slightly more frequent, type of paragraph, are (1) the presence of three red figures (area, rate of assessment, and resultant assessment obtained by multiplication) and (2) the relative lack of prominence accorded to the person of the cultivator. One has the impression, confirmed by various considerations, that this cultivator was merely the agent or the representative of the land-owning institution itself, not an individual tenant or holder cultivating land on his own behalf. Such paragraphs are here called 'non-apportioning' for a reason that will emerge shortly. It remains to add that there are only three rates of assessment, namely 5 mc., which is exceedingly common, and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  and 10 mc., which are both rare. Text B suggests the probability that the land assessed at 5 mc. bore the name *kaiē*-land, i.e. ordinary 'arable land', while land assessed at 10 mc. was called *njb*-land 'fresh land' and that assessed at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  mc. *tnl*-land 'tired land'. The objection to this hypothesis is, however, the unlikelihood that land called 'tired land' would be assessed at so high a rate, and the nomenclature of the fields assessed at the different rates may, accordingly, be thought by some open to doubt. It remains to be mentioned that we have rare, but certain, evidence that not all the fields here assessed were sown with corn, and consequently the assessment in corn merely uses this as a kind of currency, just as wheat was used in Ptolemaic times.

The 'apportioning' paragraphs present an appearance entirely different from that of the 'non-apportioning' ones. The name given to the former variety is due to the presence of the verb *pš* 'divide', 'apportion' in the headings of many of its paragraphs, though by no means in all. With the larger temples of the capital cities the heading 'Apportioning domain of this house in . . . (here the name of some nome-administration)' is common, its equivalent with smaller provincial temples being 'Apportioned harvest-taxes (*šmw*) of this house'. The 'division' or 'apportioning' here in question will be seen later to be that of each particular plot of land entered under the heading, a smaller part being taken as subject to tax or rent, but the larger part not. The verb *pš* applies to every single plot included in paragraphs of this kind, though it is only in a few entries that the word itself appears. Before describing the assessments of the apportioning paragraphs it will be better to deal with the types of holding recorded. Whereas in the non-apportioning paragraphs only one cultivator is mentioned between any two measurement lines—I use this term to signify the lines indicating place of measurement—and furthermore is pushed into the background by the introductory expression 'land cultivated by . . .', besides often being referred to only by the pronoun 'him', the apportioning paragraphs teem with the names and titles of private individuals, sometimes said to be cultivating the land on their own behalf, occasionally in company with their brothers, and occasionally also, particularly in the case of women or dead persons, through the agency of their children. This suggests that the holdings were heritable. All kinds of occupations are mentioned. Soldiers are much to the fore, but 'stable-masters', i.e. men in charge of horses, provide the commonest class of these small-holders. Some entries appear to reflect a right possessed by stable-masters to lay claim to land not otherwise occupied at the moment; this privilege, only obscurely hinted at in the Wilbour papyrus, seems clearly formulated in a passage of P. Sallier I. Auxiliary soldiers of Sherden race are frequently named. Then there are priests and scribes among the holders of land, besides rare examples of craftsmen such as a coppersmith and a weaver; herdsmen appear in plenty, as well as a fair number of bee-keepers. Nor are the holdings confined to human beings. Land dedicated to local deities is introduced in the form 'Apportioned for (e.g.) Amūn of the Island', a form<sup>1</sup> which tends to disguise the fact that these holdings differ in no wise from those of human beings. Then there are entries<sup>2</sup> ushered in by the words 'Land donated to the god (or gods) of Pharaoh . . .', apparently small provincial foundations in honour of a statue of Pharaoh perhaps in association with some protecting god

<sup>1</sup> Called in the Commentary *pōsh*-entries of Type C.

<sup>2</sup> Known for short as *hōnk*-entries.



or goddess. Lastly, here too appear most of the important land-owning institutions named in the headings of the non-apportioning paragraphs, so that (e.g.) some land belonging to the temple of Medīnet Habu may be found cultivated on behalf of Suchus of Anasha or vice versa;<sup>1</sup> also land belonging to temples both great and small may be found cultivated on behalf of *minē*- or *khato*-land of Pharaoh, though here the reverse case does not occur. The last-named species of entries, called in the Commentary *pōsh*-entries of Type B, are obviously of high importance for the interpretation of the entire document, and I shall return to them later.

Turning now to the assessments of the apportioning paragraphs, these are found to be much more complex than those of the non-apportioning paragraphs. This is due at least in part to the fact that the plots in the apportioning paragraphs are on the whole much smaller than those of the non-apportioning paragraphs. In the latter the areas range between 1 and 80 arouras, plots of 10 arouras being the commonest, though others of 5 or 20 arouras are also common. The apportioning paragraphs show actual assessments only in connexion with plots of 1 aroura and upwards, and here areas of 5 and 3 arouras are far more frequent than the rest.<sup>2</sup> But there are also a great many plots so small that they have to be reckoned in land-cubits, the land-cubit being the hundredth part of an aroura, and the aroura being equal to two-thirds of an English acre. The smallest plots that are named are two of 6 and 10 land-cubits respectively, the smaller of these being equal to a field less than 14 yards in either direction. Commonest among these apportioning holdings reckoned in terms of the land-cubit are those of 12, 24, 50, and 100 respectively, but there are a few of 200 land-cubits = 2 arouras.

It has just been said that the apportioning paragraphs show actual assessments in corn only with the plots reckoned in arouras. Here there are always three, and may be four, figures in the entry, and of these only the last two are in red. Let us ignore the assessments with four figures; they are a sub-variety of those with three, expanding the initial black figure into two figures separated by an entirely incomprehensible sign resembling  $\perp$ . The entries with three figures often place a dot before and after the first figure, which is black, and it is certain that this figure, as well as the red figure following it, is an area in terms of the aroura. The final red figure, which is always the same, is preceded by the sign for measure of corn, and is demonstrably the rate of assessment at the standard rate of  $1\frac{2}{3}$  mc. per aroura.<sup>3</sup> To give an example, in one entry a stable-master named Ra'mosē has as his assessment (the red signs are given in italics)  $.5.4$  mc.  $1\frac{2}{3}$ , and this evidently means that he was the holder of 5 arouras, but of these only  $\frac{1}{4}$  aroura was liable to rent or tax and that at the rate of  $1\frac{2}{3}$  mc. per aroura; in other words his property was assessed at three-eighths of a sack, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *oipē*, if the measure of corn ('mc.') is taken to be the *khār* or 'sack', but only  $\frac{3}{8}$  *oipē*, or about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  gallons, if by the measure of corn the *oipē* is meant. Note that the scribe writes in red only those figures which were of real interest to the assessors. The taxable area is always very small indeed,  $\frac{1}{4}$  aroura,  $\frac{1}{2}$  aroura and 1 aroura being the only common amounts; there are five examples of 2 arouras and a single one of 3 arouras.

To the statement just made the *pōsh*-entries of Type B form an exception; these will be discussed a little later. All holdings reckoned in land-cubits were clearly not liable to tax, since they show no figures in red, and there is also no rate of assessment in terms of corn. All the more surprising is it that such holdings are none the less exhibited in the form of two numbers, the first always smaller than the second, sometimes very much smaller. Thus the holdings of 50 land-cubits are presented as 1 49, or 2 48, or 5 45, or 10 40. The procedure is analogous to that of the assessments reckoned in arouras, and it seems reasonable to suppose that an area given as 5 45 land-cubits was intended to signify: this man holds 50 land-cubits, and if liable for tax, he would be taxed on 5 land-cubits, while the remaining 45 land-cubits would be free of tax. Strange procedure, no doubt, but there seems no other likely interpretation.

<sup>1</sup> In actual fact this particular position does not occur, but there is a case of land belonging to the temple of Suchus of Anasha being cultivated on behalf of the Theban temple of Ramesses IV (A 95, 40).

<sup>2</sup> The highest numbers here are 30 and 40 arouras, but of these sizes there is only one example in each case. In the sub-

variety introducing the sign  $\perp$  which is to be mentioned shortly, the numbers of arouras mentioned in the first black figure are comparable to those of the non-apportioning paragraphs.

<sup>3</sup> There is only one single exception, which will be mentioned below in connexion with the *pōsh*-entries of Type B.



The apportioning paragraphs exhibit yet another form of assessment, which shows only one figure and that a black one. Immediately after the figure comes a highly abbreviated group, of which there are four varieties. The only one of the four translatable with certainty signifies 'being dry', and this gives the clue to the third form of assessment: the holding was not liable to tax, because for one reason or another no justification for taxation could be found. The three other groups possibly mean 'waterless', 'resting' and 'it was not seen' respectively. It would seem that most of the holdings exhibiting this form of assessment were small ones reckoned in land-cubits, [but proof has been found at the last moment that this was by no means always the case, see the Additions and Corrections].

When the holder of land in an apportioning paragraph is someone representing a land-owning institution of one of the kinds claiming paragraphs of their own, the entry takes a form to which I have given the name '*pōsh*-entry of Type B'. A characteristic example is:

The cultivator Benenka in apportionment of land cultivated for The Mansion in the House of Amūn (i.e. the temple of Medīnet Habu) in the domain (under the authority) of the controller Merymā'e, 10 . 2½ . mc. 17.

This entry occurs in an apportioning paragraph with the heading 'The House of Osiris, lord of Abydos, the Great God, Ruler of Eternity'. A fact of deep interest is that the same plot is mentioned in the non-apportioning paragraph recording those fields belonging to the temple of Medīnet Habu and falling within the domain of the controller Merymā'e. Here, after the measurement line referring to exactly the same place as in the apportioning paragraph, we read:

Land cultivated by the cultivator Benenka: 10, mc. 5, mc. 50;

Apportioned for the House of Osiris, lord of Abydos, 3½ sacks.

To all entries of the type of this last line has been given the name '*pōsh*-entry of Type A'. With but few exceptions, and some of those due, no doubt, to mere oversight, every *pōsh*-entry of Type A in a non-apportioning paragraph has its equivalent of Type B in an apportioning paragraph belonging to another land-owning institution. Clearly we have here examples of double-entry book-keeping, though the reason is still to seek for this phenomenon unique in the Egyptian business documents hitherto discovered. The example quoted above is a particularly neat one, since the same cultivator is mentioned in both the corresponding passages. This is not always so, but a difference of names need not disturb us, since there are grounds for believing that in cases of divergence the cultivator in the *pōsh*-entries of Type B was always either the superior or the subordinate of the cultivator of the Type A entry.

To consider now the figures given by the corresponding entries, the question whether the unit designated mc. (= measure of corn) in order not to prejudge the issue is the *khar* or the *oipē* becomes a burning one. Since the *pōsh*-entry of Type A always clearly uses the sign ⠋ for the *khar* or sack, it might seem natural to believe that the sign ⠗ rendered conventionally mc. is a different unit, since it occurs in the line immediately preceding the Type A entry, as well as in that of Type B. If the unit really is a different one, it can only be the *oipē*, the quarter of the *khar*. And if mc. = *oipē* and not *khar*, it results that the corresponding entries are not quite real examples of double book-keeping, since the Type B assessment is now not the same amount as in the Type A entry, but only the quarter of it.<sup>1</sup> On this view also the number of sacks in the Type A entry is not 7½ per cent. of the product of the multiplication in the previous line, but 30 per cent.<sup>2</sup> On either view the number of *khar* in the Type A entry is always exactly the same percentage of the number of mc. in the preceding line, as has been verified by examination of all the available evidence.

For the view that mc. really is the *khar*, despite the use of a different sign, there is very strong evidence in the fact that for two quarters mc. two dots : placed vertically like a colon are used, a mode of notation familiar for the *khar*, but absolutely unexampled for the *oipē*. So strong is this argument, that in my view it is decisive. However, that admirable authority Dr. J. Černý (formulating his views abroad, where he has been unable to consult the original) has adopted the opposite opinion, and since present circumstances deprive me of the opportunity to attempt his conversion, the two possibilities must

<sup>1</sup> Multiplying the two red numbers in the Type B entry we obtain, on the hypothesis that mc. = *oipē* the result  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  *oipē* =  $3\frac{3}{4}$  *oipē*, i.e. the quarter of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  sacks.

<sup>2</sup> If mc. = *khar*, then  $3\frac{3}{4}$  *khar* reckoned upon 50 mc. =  $7\frac{1}{2}$  on 100, i.e. 7½ per cent. But if mc. = *oipē*, then  $3\frac{3}{4}$  *khar* reckoned on 50 mc. =  $3\frac{3}{4}$  *khar* on  $12\frac{1}{2}$  *khar* = 30 per cent.



remain open for the present. Now observe that if *mc.* = *khar* and if, accordingly, the amounts of the assessments in the corresponding *pōsh*-entries are identical, though expressed in different external form, then it follows that, whenever the rate of assessment in the non-apportioning paragraph is 5 *mc.*, the first red figure in the apportioning entry must be the exact quarter of the preceding black one. This black figure represents, as we have seen, the whole area of the plot, and always agrees (unless there be some exceptional error) with the number of arouras indicated in the corresponding non-apportioning passage. In the above-quoted examples the area is 10 arouras, of which the quarter ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  arouras), when multiplied by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  *mc.* yields  $3\frac{3}{4}$  *mc.*, the number  $3\frac{3}{4}$  being identical with the number of *khar* in the Type A entry. Since  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. =  $\frac{3}{40}$ , the equation which represents this state of affairs for all corresponding entries, on the supposition that *mc.* = *khar*, is as follows:

$$5n \times \frac{3}{40} = \frac{n}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}.$$

Here *n* is the number of arouras constituting the area of the plot, and the equation is a valid one.

It was shown, however, in the discussion of the assessments in the *pōsh*-entries of Type B, that when the rate of assessment in the non-apportioning paragraphs is more than 5 *mc.* per aroura, the amount resulting from the assessment in the Type B entry is no longer the same amount as the  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. (or alternatively the 30 per cent.) indicated by the Type A entry, but either exactly or approximately the half of that percentage. To obtain the same amount in the corresponding entries under this condition it would be necessary for the apportioning paragraph to give 3 *mc.* as the rate of assessment instead of the otherwise invariable  $1\frac{3}{4}$  *mc.*, and in point of fact that rate is actually given in a single unique entry (A 76, 5). Both the facts and my argumentation become highly complex at this point, and as I see no way of briefly summarizing them I can only refer back to the earlier discussion (pp. 99 ff.). In the course of this an interesting theory put forward by Černý was explained, though not accepted. On one point I believe my own finding to be nearly certain, namely that the form of assessment shown by the Type B entry was derived from the amount given in the Type A entry, some errors in the drawing of the  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. (or 30 per cent.) shown by the latter providing valuable evidence. Also my belief (based on the hypothesis that *mc.* = *khar*) that the amounts in the corresponding *pōsh*-entries were intended to be identical led me to propound the theory that the reason why the Type B entry has given to the assessment the form which we find was in order that this assessment might be presented in the form adopted for all holdings of the apportioning paragraphs reckoned in terms of the aroura.

In the few paragraphs devoted to the fields belonging to the Harems of Memphis and Mi-wēr there occasionally occurs a type of assessment entirely different from those described above. These Harem assessments are very unintelligible, and all that need here be said about them is that they are probably somehow concerned with seed-corn. In other respects the Harem paragraphs are of the non-apportioning kind.

## 2. Taxes payable to the Crown or Temple Revenues?

This lengthy book is drawing to a close, yet its main problem remains intact, unsolved, barely even formulated. That problem concerns the administrative purposes to be served by the figures ascertained or decided upon by the officials responsible for the two texts. Could those purposes be revealed in full, doubtless we should find ourselves in possession of a fairly comprehensive picture of Late Ramesside agricultural finance. Unhappily so desirable a revelation has not been vouchsafed to me. In the pages that follow, I shall merely collect some additional illustrative material, and append some rather disjointed considerations of my own. I feel I owe apologies to a number of papyrological friends and colleagues for not having made greater use of the help received from them. If I have refrained from attempting to reproduce their sundry opinions, it is for three good reasons. In the first place their views were based upon a less accurate account of the papyrus than I am now able to give. In the second place their suggestions differed among themselves, and I am not in a position to discriminate between them. Lastly, some of the most interesting hypotheses were communicated orally, and I should find nothing easier than to misrepresent them. The circumstances of the moment not permitting fresh consultations, I have decided that, since I am here an explorer in an unfamiliar land, it is better to leave to later writers the task of solving a problem beyond my powers. [For a few additional remarks see the Postscript.]



One service rendered by my colleagues was to give short shrift to an unfortunate theory hesitatingly put forward, according to which the corresponding *pōsh*-entries were concerned with the loan and repayment of seed-corn. Another hypothesis of mine has died a natural death; this consisted of the supposition that the assessments of the non-apportioning paragraphs might be estimates of the total yield to be expected by the land-owning institutions in question. All my critics agreed that Text A must refer to taxes or rents of one kind or another, and though I have sometimes dallied with the thought that the cultivators and other individual holders of fields were recipients, not payers, of the amounts of the assessments, there seems no way of substantiating such a view. It seems best, therefore, to submit to the verdict that the assessments are concerned with rents or taxes. In this case there seem to be only two possibilities: the assessments refer either to taxes payable to the Crown or to rents contributory to the Temple revenues. I shall first discuss these possibilities on general lines.

Herodotus (II, 168) and Diodorus (I, 28, 1; 73, 5) both explicitly state that the priests were exempt from taxation (*ἀτελείς*), and Genesis 47, 26 narrates that 'Joseph made it a statute concerning the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth; only the land of the priests alone became not Pharaoh's'. Several Egyptologists have thought to find confirmation in the native sources. Wiedemann (*Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 171) even quoted the Rosetta stone (Greek, l. 30) to show that every king had to confirm this freedom of the temples from taxation, but the passage, to which I shall return, says nothing of the kind, and Wiedemann's assertion has been severely and justly criticized by W. Otto.<sup>1</sup> In connexion with Ramesses III and the Harris papyrus, E. Meyer affirmed: 'Überdies stand aller Tempelbesitz zwar unter der Kontrolle des Königs, war aber frei von allen staatlichen Steuern und Fronden.'<sup>2</sup> The principal basis for such affirmations is afforded by the Charters of Immunity granted to the temples by kings of the Old Kingdom and later. Chief among these are the Coptus decrees found by R. Weill and fairly recently re-edited, together with new fragments first published by Moret, in Sethe's *Urkunden des alten Reiches* (I), 280 ff. On the evidence of these it is asserted by Moret,<sup>3</sup> by Kees<sup>4</sup> and by Pirenne<sup>5</sup> that the temple of Coptus was exempted from taxation. I find in these charters nothing that could justify such an assertion, nor did Sethe,<sup>6</sup> in his careful analysis of the content of the best-preserved example. The exemptions conferred turn almost entirely upon the activities of the temple staff and employees, it being enjoined that they shall not be removed from their duties in connexion with the temple for any service or *corvée* on behalf of the State. The same holds good of the important decree at Nauri in Nubia (*temp.* Sethos I),<sup>7</sup> the fullest and clearest of charters belonging to later times. Here and also in a very fragmentary and badly published inscription at Elephantine there is, indeed, a prohibition addressed to officials not to misappropriate temple property, but this prohibition should not be twisted into an assertion that the temple was exempt from taxes.<sup>8</sup>

None the less the testimony of the two classical authors quoted above, as well as that of the Old Testament, may well reflect an administrative ideal to which the Pharaohs did lip-service, though there is evidence enough that in practice they did not always live up to it. To tell the truth, none of the charters contains any guarantee that the King himself would not make demands of various kinds upon the temples; those charters merely order officials in the King's employ not to arrogate to themselves the right to infringe the temple's immunity. The Harris papyrus (57, 8-9) expressly mentions the taking for military service of one temple-labourer out of ten, though Ramesses III boasts of having abandoned this practice; that field-labourers belonging to the temples were conscribed is known from other sources as well,<sup>9</sup> and there is no evidence that this was considered a breach of privileges previously conceded. That food was

<sup>1</sup> W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, II, 43, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 1 (2nd ed.), 599.

<sup>3</sup> Latest statement: A. Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient* (1936), I, 249.

<sup>4</sup> H. Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 251.

<sup>5</sup> J. Pirenne, *Histoire des Institutions*, II, 184 ff., 259 ff.; III, 445 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1912, No. 12, pp. 712-14.

<sup>7</sup> *JEA*, XIII, 200 ff.

<sup>8</sup> In his monograph on the *Dodekaschoinos* (*Untersuchungen*, II) Sethe did indeed maintain (p. 28) that exemption from taxation is mentioned both in the Elephantine decree and in the Famine Stela, but both passages are highly obscure and probably mean no more than is stated in the text. A few years later (1908) Otto, *op. cit.*, II, 43, n. 2, quotes Sethe as saying that nothing was known about the temples' freedom from taxes.

<sup>9</sup> See above all an unpublished papyrus of the end of Dyn. XVIII from 'Gurob'; also *P. Bologna* 1089, 22-3 = *ZAS*, LXV, 95.



occasionally drawn from the temples for the king's own use is proved by *P. Boulaq XVIII* (Dyn. XIII), where we find about one-tenth of that required for the Royal court taken from the temple of Amūn.<sup>1</sup> The inscription recording the functions of the Vizier, of which the principal copy is preserved in the tomb of Rekhmirē under Tuthmosis III, appears to say that this great official dealt with the collection of the revenue of the temples, but the expression is obscure and cannot be accepted as indubitable evidence that the temples paid taxes.<sup>2</sup> Several Ramesside passages refer clearly to taxes paid by priests: it is true that the Turin taxation papyrus recently edited by me<sup>3</sup> refers to these taxes as from *khato*-land of Pharaoh, and so does the passage translated above on p. 163 from the larger of the two Bologna papyri, but it would seem mere sophistry on that account to deny that priests were liable to taxation. Passing on to Saite times, *P. Rylands IX* provides interesting evidence both of the taxation of temples and of their exemption therefrom; Griffith's translation of the crucial sentences may be left to speak for itself:<sup>4</sup>

'... When that evil time came the great fanes of Kēmi were made to pay taxes, and this town was burdened with heavy taxes: the people could not pay the taxes with which they were burdened and they departed away. And behold, though discharge hath been made unto the great fanes of Kēmi, they come to us, saying "Produce (your) taxes" until now.'

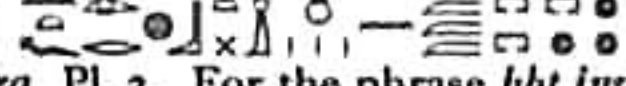
Far away in Nubia the native king Aspalut caused loaves to be given to the princess Kheb out of the revenues of the temple of Amūn of Napata.<sup>5</sup> Our next testimony dates from a couple of centuries later, when the Pharaoh Tachos is said to have taken nine-tenths of the temples' revenues to pay for the Persian war.<sup>6</sup> Coming now to Ptolemaic times, the Rosetta stone of 196 B.C. shows us Ptolemy Epiphanes 'freeing the temples of (the tax of) the artaba for every aroua of sacred land'<sup>7</sup> (l. 30), and the Philae decree (I) issued twelve years afterwards tells how the same king cancelled the arrears due from the priests in respect of their incomes and offices and from the temples in respect of the linen they were required to furnish.<sup>8</sup> A decree of Euergetes II (118 B.C.) again proclaims the remission of the tax on sacred land, but here apparently only on the arrears and at the rate of 2 artabas per aroua.<sup>9</sup>

Not all the payments referred to above are of the same kind, and in particular I have made no attempt to distinguish between taxes due from temples corporately and those due from the priests personally. Nor did the Egyptians always keep these two things separate: the above-quoted Turin taxation papyrus in one place speaks of receipts of corn from the prophets (1, 3) and in another place of the 402 sacks due from the temple of Khnūm and Nebu at Esna (3, 10-11), in both cases apparently referring to the same sort of tax on *khato*-land. Taking everything into consideration we seem entitled to maintain that the freedom from taxation ascribed to the priests by the two classical authors, as well as the Bible, was ideal rather than real. Such was the conclusion reached by Otto<sup>10</sup> for Graeco-Roman times, and we now see that sources external to the Wilbour papyrus present no serious obstacle to Černý's hypothesis that its assessments refer to taxes payable to the State.

There remains, however, another possibility which for a considerable time I was inclined to favour. Every temple-wall depicts the King in the act of presenting offerings to the gods, and there is ample evidence that he considered himself the owner of all Egyptian property whatsoever. Is it not, accordingly, possible that although the temples owned large possessions in land and no doubt to a large extent administered them on their own behalf, yet the Pharaoh reserved to himself the right to assess the amounts which the temples should exact by way of rent from their underlings? In that case the assessments of the Wilbour papyrus might refer to the revenues of the land-owning institutions mentioned in the headings.

In support of this possibility I formerly attached considerable importance to a passage in the Harris papyrus which was translated anew in my recent article in *JEA*, xxvii. In this passage (*Harris*, 12, a,

<sup>1</sup> See now *ZAS*, LVII, 57-8; also in the autographed plates to Scharff's article, Nos. 12, 25, 41. This example, like several others to be mentioned below, is taken from J. Baillet, *Régime pharaonique . . . en Égypte*, I, 76; I take the opportunity of calling attention to this much-neglected book, which contains very useful collections of evidence, and a particularly good index.

<sup>2</sup>  Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmirā*, Pl. 3. For the phrase *hbt into*, see *JEA*, xxvii, 75.

<sup>3</sup> See *op. cit.*, xxvii, 22 ff.

<sup>4</sup> F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John*

*Rylands Library*, III, 80.

<sup>5</sup> *ZAS*, XXXIII, 107-8.

<sup>6</sup> Aristotle, *Economics*, II, 2, 25.

<sup>7</sup> ἀπελευσεν δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς ἀποτεταγμένης ἀρτάβης τῇ ἀρούραι τῆς ἱερᾶς γῆς κ.τ.λ.

<sup>8</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden der griech.-röm. Zeit* (II), 202-3.

<sup>9</sup> P. Tebt. 5, see Grenfell and Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri*, I, pp. 32-3.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 43 ff. Otto quotes from his own special province much more evidence than has been given above.



1-5) reference is made to the 'goods, dues and produce of people and all dependants' of various temples 'which King Usima'rē'miamūn, the Great God, gave into their treasuries, storehouses and granaries as their yearly contributions' (op. cit., pp. 72-3). It is true that the words 'which King . . . gave' appear only in the Theban section, and not in either the Heliopolitan or the Memphite. None the less the passage did seem to suggest that these yearly contributions stood under Ramesses III's direct arbitrament. In taking this view, however, I forgot the proof given by Schaedel<sup>1</sup> of the important fact that the Harris papyrus deals only with the new foundations due to that sovereign or, in the case of the minor temples, with the additions made by him to old foundations. Where his own gifts were in question, Ramesses might, of course, legitimately claim to control, so to speak, both capital and interest accruing thence to the temples. But it now seems that the testimony of the Harris papyrus can be turned back upon myself. The fact that here Ramesses takes to himself (if Schaedel is right) credit only for such gifts as were connected with his own benefactions, makes it likely that he did not pretend to rights of disposal over any other revenues of the temples. In other words, the evidence of the Harris papyrus, so far as it goes, is opposed to the view that the assessments of the Wilbour papyrus refer to amounts which the King authorized the land-owning institutions to receive from their dependants.

Sources external to the Wilbour papyrus do, however, suggest considerations that may well make us waver in our judgement. If the assessments refer to taxes payable to the State, what becomes of that extreme poverty of the Crown reflected in the famous Strike papyrus and in the Necropolis Journal belonging to the Turin Museum? If already under Ramesses III the workmen engaged in constructing the Royal tomb were constantly being told there was no corn in the State granaries for their monthly rations, it is difficult to believe that the Royal finances were much more favourable under the insignificant kings of a couple of reigns later. Must we not, accordingly, conclude that the successors of Ramesses III were receiving very little in the way of revenues levied upon their subjects?

All the above had been written when evidence came to light which might possibly reconcile the facts (1) that the late Ramesside monarchs were personally very short of means to pay for their tombs and other enterprises, and (2) that nevertheless fairly large taxes were still being paid to the State. Quite unexpectedly I came across a relief discovered at Eshmūnēn by Roeder in 1935 proving that the Steward Usima'rē'nakhte, the man who figured so prominently in Text B as the manager of *khato*-lands of Pharaoh, was a son of the High-priest of Amūn Ra'messenakhte.<sup>2</sup> This called to mind the circumstance that the papyrus shown me at the same time as P. Wilbour by the dealer who subsequently disposed of the latter, also named the identical High-priest,<sup>3</sup> and both documents may well thus have belonged to an archive of the temple of Karnak. Then again it was remembered that Merybarsē, the father of Ra'messenakhte, bore the title of Chief Taxing-master (*ḥ n št*),<sup>4</sup> and Merybarsē<sup>5</sup> and Ra'messenakhte<sup>6</sup> are names borne by other important personages named in the Wilbour papyrus. Also the Steward Usima'rē'nakhte himself seems to have occupied the same administrative office.<sup>7</sup> Does it not, then, look as though the State finances at this time were entirely in the hands of the great sacerdotal family of Thebes? This might well explain why so little of the grain of the land was available for Pharaoh himself. Again, the Griffith fragments speak of the delivery of provincial corn into the Granary of Amūn,<sup>8</sup> and P. Chester Beatty V, in a passage translated above (p. 57), records the collection from the taxpayers in the far south of various commodities that were despatched to the Treasury of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods. All this is in complete accord with the historical trend which, as many historians of Egypt have described, finally resulted in the elimination of the Ramesside kings and their replacement by a line of Theban High-priests.

At this point my speculations must cease, and I doubt not that much that I have already written will be found to bear the mark of great indecision and of a consciousness of my inability to solve the central problem. I console myself, however, with the knowledge that I have done all in my power to pave the way for others better qualified, and with that thought in my mind I take leave of my readers.

<sup>1</sup> See my comments *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 20, with n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon*, p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> See Table III for the two prophets of this name, one of

them bearing the high title of Overseer of Prophets.

<sup>5</sup> This name was borne by the Overseer of Cattle of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods, see Synopsis of Text A, under § 111.

<sup>6</sup> See above p. 150, under § 200.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 161.



## POSTSCRIPT

THE manuscript of this Commentary was completed some six years ago, thoroughly revised in 1943, and has since been awaiting the time when conditions would be normal enough for the printing to begin. The interval has been long enough for some of the complicated details to be forgotten, and for this reason among others it seemed prudent to reproduce my text much as it stood when laid aside for other work. Here and there, however, alterations have been made, as (e.g.) in the references to the lamented deaths of Dr. Ibscher and Mr. P. C. Smither; but unless such alterations carried with them modifications of my conclusions, they have not been signalized as such. In a few vital cases, and particularly where new information led to contradictions of statements that could no longer be conveniently changed, notice has been given of the fact in sentences enclosed in square brackets [ ], see (e.g.) p. 29, n. 2; p. 60, n. 3; p. 64, n. 2; p. 167. In such cases, the fresh evidence is discussed either in the present Postscript or in the Additions and Corrections to follow. This seems a suitable place in which to explain the absence of Indexes from the present volume; I am happy to announce that a special Index volume has been arranged, and that the responsibility for that exacting task has been accepted by my ever-willing helper Mr. R. O. Faulkner.

Some of the outside sources which throw light on, or at least show connexions with, the topics of the Wilbour papyrus have been translated in this Commentary, see pp. 57, 78 f., 115 f., 163. But other longer documents exist that could not be treated so summarily, and these I have collected in my article 'Ramesside Texts relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn' in *JEA*, xxvii (1941), 19 ff., where translations and explanations will be found; the texts themselves have for the most part been included in my *Ramesside Administrative Documents* [abbreviated *RAD*], of which a small provisional instalment was issued in 1940, while the book in its full and final form must await completion for a year or so longer. Here I will start my final observations with translations of one or two scraps of papyrus not treated hitherto.

Among these by far the most interesting is an original letter belonging to M. le Duc de Valençay, of which, thanks to his gracious consent and to the good offices of my friends MM. Vandier, Posener, and Weill, I shall publish a full edition in Vol. vi of the *Revue d'Égyptologie*, while a transcription has been permitted for my afore-mentioned book (*RAD*, pp. 72 f.) and a translation for this Postscript. The letter is unusually clear and free from difficulties of interpretation, as the following rendering will show:

[May] Amūn [favour] Menma'rēnakhte! The Mayor of Elephantinē Merōn (sends) greeting. (May my lord be) in life, prosperity and health, and in the favour of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods! [I speak] to A[men-Rē]-Harakhti when he rises and sets, and to Chnum, Satis and Anūkis, the deities lords of Elephantinē: 'Preserve the Chief Taxing-master, give him life, prosperity and health, a long lifetime and a great and good old age; give him favour in the presence of Amen-Rē, his good lord, and in the presence of Pharaoh, his good lord, every day, every day.' To this effect: Ptunteamūn, the scribe of the House of the Adoratress of Amūn, has come, he has arrived in Elephantinē to demand the corn which had been fixed for the House of the Adoratress of Amūn,<sup>1</sup> and he said, 'Let 100 sacks of barley be given'; so said he to me, but there are no fields bearing that amount. And he said to me, 'They are being demanded from you on account of a holding of *khato*-land of the *gezirah*<sup>2</sup> of Ombi'; so said they<sup>3</sup> to me, though I had not cultivated (any) holding of *khato*-land in the *gezirah* of Ombi. As Amūn endures, and as the Ruler endures, if there be found (any) holding of *khato*-land which I have cultivated in the *gezirah* of Ombi, this corn shall be exacted from me. It is a holding of some private persons<sup>4</sup> who pay gold<sup>5</sup> into the Treasury of Pharaoh which those private persons have cultivated, and they regularly (?) hand over its gold to the Treasury of Pharaoh, and I have never touched (any) holding there. And they mentioned to me the matter of another holding in the region of Edfu which had not been flooded, and it was (only) four arourae that had been flooded in it, and I had placed upon it one man and one yoke (of oxen), and they had cultivated the scrap of field which they found in it. And when the harvest-season came, they brought me

<sup>1</sup> This land-owning institution is mentioned in B 3, 8 as having fields on which *khato*-land of Pharaoh was situated, see above, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> For the sense of this Arabic term see above, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> The pronoun 'they' hints that the scribe who was the chief tax-collector did not come alone. In the Turin Taxation papyrus

(*JEA*, xxvii, 22 ff.) the scribe Dhutmosē was accompanied on a similar mission by two janitors, doubtless hefty fellows who could use force if necessary. So too in another passage, *op. cit.*, 19 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Nmhy*, see below in the text.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. doubtless 'money' or the amount of the tax due from them.



40 sacks of barley from it, and I guarded them carefully, and I did not touch a single *oipē* of it, but I handed it over to the scribe Ptunteamūn, it being (just) 40 sacks. And I bound myself by a strong oath, saying, I have not touched a single *oipē* or a single half-*oipē*.<sup>1</sup> And I have sent to inform the Chief Taxing-master.

The Menma<sup>re</sup>nakhte here addressed was clearly none other than the Chief Taxing-master himself, and the purport of the letter strikingly confirms this translation of the title *ḥ n št*.<sup>2</sup> The name being compounded with the *prenomen* of Ramesses XI shows that he held office in the latter part of that king's reign or not long after. The mayor of Elephantinē Merōn seeks to exculpate himself for having failed to produce 100 sacks of corn demanded from him in respect of some *khato*-land in the neighbourhood of Kōm Ombo.<sup>3</sup> He denies having cultivated any such land, and suggests that the official sent to collect the tax may have been referring to certain fields in the hands of private persons who paid their dues directly into the Treasury of Pharaoh. The term rendered 'private persons' (*ḥ n št* *nmḥ*) is known to have designated persons who were free in the sense of not being slaves (*bik* or *hm*), and the expression for the land which they tilled (*šht nmḥ*) appears to correspond to the *ιδιόκτητος γῆ* of Greek papyri belonging to the Ptolemaic period.<sup>4</sup> In a footnote early in this volume<sup>5</sup> this expression is translated 'tenanted land', and it is very well possible that the status of its cultivators was that of the holders of land in the apportioning paragraphs of the Wilbour papyrus. If so, the statement that their payments were made direct to the Treasury of Pharaoh might easily prove of great importance. The mayor goes on to speak of other fields near Edfu which he admits to have been in his charge, but of these, if his statement may be believed, only four *arourae* had been flooded, so that the total yield was no more than forty sacks. This entire crop, he swears, had been turned over to the importunate tax-collector, whom we may imagine to have returned to the Capital with a fine story about the unhappy Merōn's misdeeds. The rights and wrongs of the case are, of course, beyond our power of verification. It is, however, interesting to note that the produce of the Edfu fields, namely ten sacks *per* *aroura*, is one sack more than our calculations led us to think might be the norm.<sup>6</sup> One more point about this letter is worthy of comment: at first we may feel surprised that the tax-collector here named was a scribe attached to the residence of the principal Theban priestess. Our outside evidence is too slight to afford a certain explanation, but I will put forward as a possibility that this priestess may have received a subsidy from the temple of Amen-Rē, but subject to the condition that an official of her household should collect it from a specified tax-payer.

I now turn, more for the sake of completeness than on account of their intrinsic interest, to some fragments from Kōm Medīnet Ghurāb ('Gurob') overlooked in my afore-mentioned article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. The largest of these threadbare documents<sup>7</sup> gives parts of three pages or columns, and only a few lines are sufficiently well preserved to merit translation. The first page ends with a reference to 'the harvest-tax<sup>8</sup> of Year sixty-seven, which was reported to him in Year 1': the reigns in question were, accordingly, those of Ramesses II and Menepthah respectively. Page 2 then continues:

Year 67, first month of the Inundation season, day 18. Received of the harvest-tax of the . . . . . in the granary of Amenemopē, the mayor of Southern She,<sup>9</sup> by the . . . . .

Interest in corn (?)<sup>10</sup> collected by the scribe Hetitua (?) who . . . . . received by the [chief] of janitors Nebamūn and the measurer Huinūfe . . . . .

Year 1, second (?) month of the Inundation (?) season, day 19, placed as load upon the boat . . . . . which . . . . . in the house of the mayor Amenemopē . . . . . the granary . . .

<sup>1</sup> For this phrase see above, p. 63, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 10, n. 5; p. 131, under § 52; p. 150, under § 200.

<sup>3</sup> For mayors of towns entrusted with the administration of *khato*-land, see above, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> See the literature quoted in my notes, *JEA*, XIX, 21, nn. 2-4.

<sup>5</sup> P. 29, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 71, bottom.

<sup>7</sup> Gurob Fragments, L = RAD, pp. 30 ff.

<sup>8</sup> It seems safe to translate *šmt* in the two 'Gurob' documents as 'harvest-tax' rather than simply as 'harvest' (see above p. 24), especially on account of the phrase *it n šmt* 'corn of

harvest-tax', which is found also in the Turin Taxation Papyrus, 2, 4.

<sup>9</sup> For this town see above, pp. 44 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *ḥ n št* *ms*, determined with the sign for corn, occurs several times more in the untranslated lines. The word is evidently connected with the stem meaning 'to bear', 'be born', and *Wb*. II, 142, 2, which knows it only from the slips I made of the present passage, very plausibly connects it with Coptic *ḥanice*, *ḥanici* 'interest'. If a note of interrogation is here added to this translation, it is because there is found in Graeco-Roman texts—the sole earlier example is doubtful—a word of similar appearance which means no more than 'produce', see *Wb*. II, 142, 1.



Given . . . interest in corn (?) of (?) the Overseer of the King's Apartments . . . . .  
 . . . . . placed as load upon the boat . . . . . [given] to him of the corn of his harvest-tax which is sealed  
 in the . . . . .  
 . . . . . [giv]en to him of the corn of his harvest-tax which is sealed in the . . . . .  
 Placed as load upon the boat of . . . . .

What remains is even more defective. The collection and transport (to the Capital?) of the harvest-tax of this district near the entrance to the Fayyūm appear to be the theme, and the expressions used recall the Amiens papyrus and the other long text which I have called the Turin Taxation papyrus. The only novelty is a word which possibly refers to interest payable on taxes that were overdue.

Another fragment<sup>1</sup> of which only enough remains to enable us to discern its form contained a number of lines each beginning with a date, this being followed by the words 'measured in (such and such a place) of the corn of . . . . .'. Probably it was the harvest-tax of various individual holders of land the measuring of which was here recorded.

Slightly more informative is what is left of a third document<sup>2</sup> referring to the harvest-tax here quite clearly of individuals, among them a woman; of this I translate the whole:

. . . . . harvest-tax of . . . . .  
 . . . . . by the hand of the controller (*rwḏw*) Naḥiḥu . . . . .  
 . . . . . tuf.<sup>3</sup> Usiḥē. Ḥarkha<sup>4</sup>u. Total, 4 . . . . .  
 . . . . . of Ḥuy consisting of the corn of the harvest-tax of the cultivator Naḥi[ḥu] . . . . .  
 . . . . . island consisting of the corn of the harvest-tax of the cultivator Usiḥē . . . . .  
 . . . . . of Ḥ-sha-nūfe,<sup>4</sup> by the hand of the cultivator Penanḥur . . . . .  
 . . . . . tuf.<sup>3</sup> Perē. Inin. Neferḥiḥu . . . . .  
 . . . . . Ḥ-sha-nūfe<sup>4</sup> of corn of what was brought later<sup>5</sup> from the lady . . . . .  
 . . . . . Iat-Tjare<sup>4</sup> of corn of what was brought later from the house of the herdsman . . . . .  
 . . . . . Pekhōre given to him in Iat-Tjare of the corn of the cultivator . . . . .

The rest is lost. It will be seen that I have been reduced to quoting fragments that might appear too exiguous to be of any service. Still, the entire evidence ought to be at the disposal of whoever else may have the courage to wrestle with the intricate problems of the Wilbour papyrus.

Up to the last I have deluded myself with the hope that a broad survey of all documents at our disposal would make it possible to round off this book with a more or less coherent picture of Ramesside agricultural taxation. But now that the moment has arrived for this picture to materialize, it obstinately refuses to put in more than a doubtful and vaporous appearance. Nevertheless, in order that my promises of some final pronouncements may not remain wholly unredeemed, I venture in the following pages to explore a possibility of interpretation not hitherto envisaged.

In the first place it may now be affirmed, with complete assurance, that the Twentieth Dynasty temples did pay taxes out of the produce of their fields. If as lately as on p. 203 this fact was not unhesitatingly admitted, it is because the opening protocol of the Turin Taxation papyrus,<sup>6</sup> our fullest and least ambiguous source of information, speaks of the provincial prophets as handing over to the tax-collector from Thebes only 'corn of *khato*-land of Pharaoh' (1, 3). The Wilbour papyrus has taught us that this kind of land was differentiated in Egyptian law of the period from genuine temple-land, despite the indications that *khato*-land stood upon fields of this or that god. In the Turin papyrus only one amount of grain from Imiotru is explicitly spoken of as 'corn of *khato*-land' (2, 3), and I therefore allowed myself to be persuaded that all the other deliveries there mentioned answered the same description. As against this, it has to be remembered that we possess only a portion of the original document, and there may well have been in the pages that are lost many other references to corn rightly so described. Also immediately after the mention of such corn in 2, 3 there is recorded another delivery that is expressly qualified as 'harvest-tax' (*šmw*), and there seems good ground for thinking that this contrasted term was technically used only in reference to

<sup>1</sup> Gurob Fragments, AA = RAD, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Gurob Fragments, M = RAD, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Probably end of a personal name.

<sup>4</sup> A place-name.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. doubtless a later instalment of the tax payable.

<sup>6</sup> JEA, xxvii, 22 ff.; a complete transcription will appear in RAD, pp. 35 ff.



the returns by private cultivators and small-holders, as (e.g.) in the 'Gurob' fragments translated above. Moreover, further on in the Turin manuscript we find the expressions 'corn of the House of Mont, lord of Thebes' (3, 1. 8) and 'corn of the House of Khnum and Nebu' (3, 10-11, at Esna), and the itemization of the latter, hitherto overlooked by me, is particularly interesting. Part of the corn from the Esna temple emanated from the cultivator Saḥtnūfe and is characterized as belonging to his 'harvest-tax'; presumably Saḥtnūfe was an employee or tenant of the Esna temple, and we are reminded of the presence of such cultivators in both kinds of paragraph of the Wilbour papyrus. Again, the shipments of corn in the Amiens papyrus<sup>1</sup> are always said to have come from the provincial 'domain' (*rmnyt*) of one Theban temple or another, and that document makes no allusion to *khato*-land. Lastly, the Griffith fragments<sup>2</sup> afford testimony pointing in the same direction, and both these fragments and the Amiens papyrus refer to the collection of the corn-tax by nome-administrations, just as is hinted by the Wilbour, see above, pp. 39 ff. Such an activity on the part of the nome-authorities appears to imply that these collections of corn were of a governmental kind, and it seems clear that this agency was utilized only by large temples at a great distance from the fields whence the corn was brought. The smaller temples may have exacted the corn-tax directly from their employees and tenants, and I recall my observation (above, p. 25) that 'the apportioning domain paragraphs' of the Wilbour papyrus, i.e. those containing a reference to a nome-administration, may have 'performed for the larger and more distant temples the same function that the harvest-tax paragraphs performed for the smaller temples, that in fact the two kinds of paragraphs are merely different forms of one and the same kind'. To sum up, we now see that what was called 'temple-corn' and 'harvest-tax' corn (*šmw*) are identical or at least very closely associated, and that these stand in a definite antithesis to 'corn of *khato*-land', which Text B and the Valençay letter show always to have been the responsibility of some influential individual specially chosen for the purpose. It is thus certain, I repeat, that the Late Ramesside temples paid taxes to the State, or to what at this period was the equivalent of the State, namely the priesthood of Amen-Rē at Karnak (see above, p. 204).<sup>3</sup>

But it is one thing to admit that the temples paid taxes out of their agricultural produce, and another to assert that the assessments of Text A of the Wilbour papyrus name the exact amounts of these taxes. I now think it possible that the assessments of Text A merely represent the data used by the taxing authorities in fixing the quota to be paid by the various land-owning institutions. My evidence is slender, but not, I think, negligible. It is in accord with such a conclusion that the assessments of the non-apportioning paragraphs appear, if my calculations are correct (above, pp. 71 f.), too high for taxes, and too low to be statements of the entire yield of the fields. In making their survey, the taxing authorities may have thought it politic to reckon the revenues of the land-owning institutions at a modest figure, and the arbitrariness of their estimates is possibly reflected in the mysterious value set on 'tired land' (*tni*), to which reference has been made above, pp. 178 ff. But to proceed to my specific evidence, the first scrap comes from the already much used Griffith fragments. In two passages of these, the one of them quoted above, p. 179, at bottom,<sup>4</sup> the tax paid into the Granary of Amūn appears to have been at the rate of only one sack *per* aroura, i.e. only one-fifth part of the assessment of ordinary arable land as given in the non-apportioning paragraphs of our Text A. Whether this would be a reasonable tax or not must be left to economists to decide.<sup>5</sup>

The other piece of evidence I have to offer is derived from the equally fragmentary leather document in the Louvre<sup>6</sup> to which passing reference was made above on p. 63. I still uphold the view that the  $1\frac{3}{4}$  sacks *per* aroura mentioned here is identical with the  $1\frac{3}{4}$  measures of corn *per* aroura in the apportioning paragraphs of the Wilbour. In both cases the figure is presented as a rate payable on privately occupied

<sup>1</sup> *JEA*, xxvii, 37 ff.; full text in *RAD*, 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JEA*, xxvii, 64 ff.; all that could be read by Černý and myself of this most important papyrus will be printed in *RAD*, 68 ff. Mention is made of it also on p. 161 above, and a valuable quotation occurs on my p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> Payments of the corn-tax into the Granary of Amūn are explicitly mentioned in the Griffith fragments, and are clearly implied also in the Turin and Amiens documents. Commodities of a different nature exacted as tax were paid into the Treasury

of Amūn, see *P. Chester Beatty V*, 7, 12 ff. translated above, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> The other will be found in *RAD*, p. 70, l. 4.

<sup>5</sup> The 40 sacks from 4 arouras in the Valençay letter can hardly be regarded as a contradiction, since here the tax-payer was handing over the entire produce of certain fields in order to palliate his default in connexion with another holding.

<sup>6</sup> *JEA*, xxvii, 70 ff.; for the full text, differing somewhat as regards the heading, see *RAD*, pp. 60 ff.



[illegible]

It is true that the word to be supplied in thought with every entry of the apportioning paragraphs of Text A is, not  $\int$  *int*, but  $\frac{\square}{\square} \times p\check{s}$  'divide', 'apportion'.<sup>3</sup> But it has often occurred to my mind that, though the latter verb obviously approaches the matter in a different way, its sense is not altogether alien from that implied in the notion of a lease. For does not a lease suggest a division of the profit from a given property among two interested parties? A very unequal division of profit, very possibly, but none the less a division. In some of the Wilbour contexts one might indeed plausibly paraphrase the Egyptian *pōsh* by the English word 'lease'. Thus in the example from Text B quoted above, p. 59, it appears definitely illuminating to interpret what I have slavishly rendered '(*khato*-land that) was (formerly) apportioned for Ḥaremḥab' as meaning 'which was formerly *leased* to Ḥaremḥab'.

This brings us back—happily for the last time—to the vexed problem of the relationship between the *pōsh*-entries of Type A and Type B, and in this final retrospect I believe myself able to advance a solution more probable than any hitherto suggested. In neither of the two formulae does it seem possible to render the verb *pōsh* by the English word 'lease', but in both, on any view that may be taken, the notion of a division is very perceptible. Harking back to the illustration of a typical *pōsh* B entry given on p. 58 we here see, on our new hypothesis, the cultivator Benenka paying  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{2}{4}$  ( $= 3\frac{3}{4}$ ) sacks of corn as rent on a certain holding to the temple of Osiris at Abydos. This holding has an area of 10 arouras, but the assessors decide that he has to pay on only a quarter of it. But the *pōsh* B entry plainly asserts that Benenka is not cultivating this plot on his own behalf, but on behalf of a different and much more important owner, namely the temple of Medīnet Habu. What the assessors chose to estimate as the profit to be gained by this latter temple from the possession of this plot is recorded in conjunction with the corresponding *pōsh* A entry (p. 57, at bottom). Here the plot, which was of ordinary arable land, was assessed at 5 sacks *per* aroura, yielding 50 sacks in all. But in order to be scrupulously fair, the assessors did not omit to mention that from this yield would have to be deducted  $3\frac{3}{4}$  sacks payable as rent to the Abydos temple. The assessors would lose nothing by such a manipulation of figures, since what was deducted from the one temple's revenue was added to that of the other. If the rent paid to the lessor temple seems small—it was  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the estimated profit on the land—it was at least considerably greater than the rents paid by individual freeholders, which seldom amounted to more than the standard rate of  $1\frac{2}{4}$  sacks on  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$  or 1 aroura, whatever the size of the holding might be (see above, pp. 91. 100). The outstanding riddle to be answered is why one temple should thus call in another to help in securing the cultivation of its fields.

The answer which I shall give is conjecture pure and simple, nor shall I try to pass it off as anything better. Yet it does seem possible that this procedure may have been due to the difficulty which some

<sup>1</sup> The other two are the lines  $b_3; g_2, 1$ .

<sup>2</sup> For the same verb in an exceptional formula of the appor-

tioning paragraphs see above, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 104 f.



temples or other land-owning institutions may have found in engaging suitable cultivators of their own. Perhaps the temple of Abydos may have had some claim on Benenka's services, and perhaps the rent paid to it may have been comparable to the fee paid to an employment agency. Very possibly the central Government brought strong pressure to bear on land-owning institutions to keep all the fields they possessed in full cultivation, the penalty for failing in this being that well-irrigated land left fallow was annexed and became *khato*-land of Pharaoh. When fields acquired that status they were placed, as we have seen, under the supervision of some important official or local prophet, whose duty it then became to arrange for their cultivation. Such a charge might be either an onerous burden or else a grand opportunity for personal profit: in the hands of a wealthy and powerful personage like Usimat-rēnakhte, great gains might be made out of that part of the 'corn of *khato*-land' which he had not to hand over to the High-priest at Karnak; on the other hand an incompetent provincial mayor or priest might dread being saddled with such land of this sort since this might prove unproductive, or might fail to attract any cultivator, so that there remained a tax to be paid without there being anything to pay it with—some such situation may conceivably be read between the lines of the Valençay letter.<sup>1</sup> When a functionary entrusted with *khato*-land was unable himself to cultivate it, he sometimes might, like any other land-owning institution, invoke the help of some temple near or far, not excluding its original owner, and the *khato*-land paragraph of Text A would then show a *pōsh*-entry in addition to its own normal assessment; for examples of this see pp. 169 ff.

So incomplete is our evidence, and so intrinsically difficult are problems of this nature to an Egyptologist unversed in practical fiscal administration, that I am keenly aware of the temerity exhibited in the foregoing speculations. On the other hand, the attempt to face up to the questions raised by the Wilbour papyrus was a duty not to be shirked. All that now remains for me to do is to plead with my critics for indulgence.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the letter translated above on p. 163.

Gardiner  
The Wilbour Papyrus & Commentary  
Oxford 1948



## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS: (I) TO THE PLATES OF TRANSCRIPTION

*Here the Corrections given on Pl. 73 (A) of Vol. I will not be repeated, nor will it be sought to incorporate in the following pages all the further restorations to be found in the Translation (Vol. III of this publication). Most of such new restorations concern the figures of the assessments and are too obvious to require mention in this place.*

The Plate volume had been long printed, and the Commentary was far advanced in proof, when a discovery was made which would have occasioned considerable alterations in both volumes. The discovery originated in some words of the Valençay letter (see above, p. 205) which I had transcribed as  $\overline{\text{IIII}} \cdot \overline{\text{A}} \cdot \overline{\text{XIII}} =$  '4 arouras of field'. Černý objected that the ligature here given for 4, namely  $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ , could not possibly represent the simple numeral, to which I replied that similar forms of I, II, III and IIII, with a hook at their top left extremity, were of great frequency in the Wilbour papyrus. Černý persisted, however, in his objection, as a consequence of which I decided upon a fresh investigation in the Wilbour. It then emerged—what Černý himself, as well as Faulkner and I, had earlier completely overlooked—that the numerals with the hook are found only in certain specific cases, while in other cases normal forms without the hook are equally invariable. It was seen, for example, that the forms with hook never occur where the word *mḥ-t* 'land-cubit' is written or indubitably implied, cf. for example, II (with *mḥ-t* preceding) 14, 18; various instances of II and IIII in col. 7. Forms without the hook are found without exception wherever the unit of measurement is the 'corn-measure'  $\overline{\text{A}}$  or the 'sack'  $\overline{\text{B}}$ ; so for I in the assessment rate  $\overline{\text{A}} \cdot \overline{\text{I}}$ : so common in the apportioning paragraphs; cf. also after  $\overline{\text{B}}$  the numeral I in 72, 23, the numeral II in 93, 24, the numeral III in 20, 4 and the numeral IIII in 34, 27. On the other hand, it soon became evident that the forms with hook were always found for 2, 3 and 4, though only sometimes for 1, wherever the unit of measurement is the *sōte* or 'aroura', but this rule applies only for those simple numbers, and not (e.g.) for  $\overline{\text{A}} \cdot \overline{\text{III}}$  A 3,  $\overline{\text{X}} + 3$ , nor for  $\overline{\text{A}} \cdot \overline{\text{IIII}}$  A 21, 24;  $\overline{\text{A}} \cdot \overline{\text{IIII}}$  A 21, 29, &c. This rule having been firmly established, the origin of the ligatures in question became evident: the hook represents the sign  $\overline{\text{A}}$ , originally  $\overline{\text{A}}$  (Sethe, *Urk.* I, 2, 8. 9) for 'aroura', see Griffith, *Proc. S.B.A.* XIV, 410; in Middle Kingdom hieratic this sign is a short horizontal stroke above, but still separated from, the numeral, see Möller, *Hierat. Paläogr.*, I, Nos. 683, 684; nothing of the kind has been hitherto noted for Late Egyptian, and in the Wilbour no indication of this description is found with the numerals above 4. It thus became certain that in a multitude of instances  $\overline{\text{I}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{II}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{III}}$  and  $\overline{\text{IIII}}$  ought to have been given in the transcription in place of simple I, II, III and IIII. To note all these cases in the present Additions and Corrections seems unpractical, and the best course obviously is merely to signalize the newly discovered fact in the Translation; hence the abbreviation 'ar.' is there inserted wherever the word *sōte* is indicated by the hook, but 'aroura' is written out in full wherever the hieratic employs the full writing of *sōte*, namely  $\overline{\text{A}}$ .<sup>1</sup> This applies to Texts A and B alike.<sup>2</sup>

The new observation sheds fresh light on certain assessments of the apportioning paragraphs, deciding one difficult question (see Corr. below pp. 214 f. on pp. 94 ff.), and adding fresh information about Type I A (above, pp. 91 ff.); fortunately it has not stultified or flatly contradicted anything that I have written. The details had best be left for discussion at the appropriate places in these Additions and Corrections. A single point must, however, be dealt with here. It was noted above that with the numeral I the hook representing the aroura is not always found where it might be expected. It is found invariably when the first figure in a non-apportioning assessment signifies '1 ar.', e.g. A 16, 8; 49, 23; but it is *not* found in certain assessments of the apportioning paragraphs. For example, the first red figure there is often

<sup>1</sup> A 17, 38; 33, 18 actually write the word for aroura before the ligature for 3 ar., writings exactly analogous, accordingly, to that of the Valençay letter.

<sup>2</sup> With the hook in Text B: for 1 ar., e.g. B 9, 18, 19; for

2 ar., e.g. B 4, 5; 7, 20; for 3 ar., e.g. B 7, 26; 8, 3; for 4 ar., e.g. B 9, 19; 12, 21. As in Text A, any one of these numerals preceded by a ten is without the hook, e.g. 13, B 8, 31; 22½, B 8, 31; 24, B 8, 15.



# 212 ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS: (1) TO THE PLATES OF TRANSCRIPTION

written simply 1, e.g. 22, 28 ff., while in the corresponding position we find  $\overline{\text{II}}$  (A 52, 4);  $\overline{\text{III}}$  40, 45; so too without the hook in the fractions  $\frac{1}{x}$  ( $=1\frac{1}{4}$ ) A 76, 23;  $\frac{1}{x}$  ( $=1\frac{1}{2}$ ) 26, 29;  $\frac{1}{x}$  ( $=1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}=1\frac{3}{4}$ ) A 61, 34 as against  $\overline{\text{II}}$  '2 $\frac{1}{2}$  ar.' A 28, 26;  $\overline{\text{III}}$  '3 $\frac{1}{2}$  ar.' 56, 31;  $\overline{\text{IV}}$  '4 $\frac{1}{4}$  ar.' A 86, 34. The reason for this exceptional treatment of the numeral for 1 is probably that, when the hook was added, confusion with the hieratic form of 5 was easy, if not inevitable, cf. above p. 5, n. 1; there are, indeed, cases where I am still in doubt whether  $\overline{\text{I}}$  or  $\overline{\text{II}}$  should be read—for  $\overline{\text{I}}$  does rarely occur even in the apportioning paragraphs, e.g. 29, 26; 32, 22; 33, 32; 41, 33. Instances where undoubted  $\overline{\text{III}}$  looks more like  $\overline{\text{I}}$  are (e.g.) 49, 25; 95, 22; on the other hand what is in all probability  $\overline{\text{I}}$  (see below, the Corrections to pp. 92 f. of the Text) looks in 81, 30; 89, 16 much more like  $\overline{\text{III}}$ .

Pl. 1 A, top, A 2, x+7 and three lines following: the restoration  $\overline{\text{III}}$  is preferable to  $\overline{\text{II}}$ , since these would be the only cases of 2 ar. in this type of assessment; see above, p. 96, in the Table at top.

Pl. 1 A, bottom, B 1, 2. In the restoration the word for 'Pharaoh' should have been given in black, as always; superstitious reasons would have forbidden its being written in red.

Pl. 2 A, 5, x+1. At the end clear trace of red  $\overline{\text{II}}$ . 5, x+2. Restore red  $\overline{\text{III}}$ [:].

6, 16. Restore the place-name as in the Correction to the corresponding entry 21, 1.

Pl. 3 A, 8, 12. Complete the last figure into  $\overline{\text{III}}$ .

After 9, 45. Restore the lost heading of § 11 as  $\overline{\text{II}}$  as in 19, 37, and see the Synopsis of Text A *ad loc.*, above, p. 126.

Pl. 4 A, 10, 3. Restore  $\overline{\text{II}}$  as in the corresponding entry 19, 35.

10, 18. For a final suggestion as to the exact form in which the heading of § 12 should be restored, see above, p. 43.

11, 43. Instead of  $\overline{\text{II}}$ , probably read  $\overline{\text{III}}$  as in 13, 44; 14, 21.

Pl. 6 A, 15, 30. The restoration  $\overline{\text{II}}$  is probably wrong, see the Synopsis of Text A, under § 21.

Pl. 7 A, 16, 39. The reading  $\overline{\text{II}}$  is very nearly certain, cf. B 24, 30 and in the Synopsis of Text A, under § 28.

Pl. 9 A, 20, 23. The fraction shown as  $\circ$  in the Plate should be a mere dot  $\bullet = 1$  *oipé*.

21, 1. The corresponding entry B 18, 15 shows that  $\overline{\text{II}}$  should be restored here, as also in 6, 16 above; whether the place-name in 12, 27. 39 is a variant writing is uncertain.

Pl. 10 A, 22, 13. The heading of § 96 in which occurs the corresponding *pōsh* A entry 39, 22 shows that the trace high up mentioned in the note must be part of the sign  $\overline{\text{II}}$ .

Pl. 11 A, 24, 30. For the words here to be restored see above, p. 102, n. 1.

25, 14. Alter the first number into  $\overline{\text{I}}$  and the third into  $\overline{\text{III}}$ , cf. 16, 8.

Pl. 14 A, 31, 52. The first number (black) is a clear  $\overline{\text{III}}$ , not  $\overline{\text{II}}$ .

Pl. 16 A, 35, 1. The word  $\overline{\text{II}}$  is written in black in 58, 18; 88, 12 and ought so to have been restored here.

Pl. 17 A, 37, 38. The marginal  $\overline{\text{II}}$  ought to have been printed in red.

Pl. 19 A, 43, 16. Instead of  $\overline{\text{II}}$  read  $\overline{\text{III}}$  as in the *pōsh* B entry 40, 8.

Pl. 23 A, 50, 8. The red initial  $\overline{\text{II}}$  has been omitted, as well as the  $\overline{\text{II}}$  before it.

Pl. 24 A, 51, 28. The second red figure should have been read as  $\overline{\text{III}}$ , not as  $\overline{\text{II}}$ .

Pl. 26 A, 55, 42. The first words are to be read  $\overline{\text{II}}$  as in 70, 19.

56, 48. For a doubtful restoration of the beginning of this line see the Translation.

Pl. 28 A, 60, 11. The second black number should have been read  $\overline{\text{I}}$ , not  $\overline{\text{III}}$ ; see the Corrections to pp. 92 f.

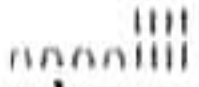

Pl. 30 A, 64, 38. For  $\overline{\text{II}}$  read  $\overline{\text{III}}$  as in 42, 40.

Pl. 31 A, 66, 20. The second black figure should have been read  $\overline{\text{I}}$ , not  $\overline{\text{III}}$ .

Pl. 35 A, 73, 8. After  $\overline{\text{II}}$  the red stroke  $\overline{\text{I}}$  has fallen out in the printing.

73, 22. At the end of the line read red  $\overline{\text{III}}$ ; in the previous line part of  $\overline{\text{II}}$  has similarly fallen out in the printing.






Pl. 36 A, 75, 24. At end read  instead of .

75, 52. The *pōsh* A entry shows that this line referred to the temple of Medīnet Habu, but how exactly the visible traces are to be interpreted remains uncertain.



Pl. 37 A, 78, 49. In the restoration at end  $\pi$  should have been printed in black.

Pl. 38 A, 80, 3. After  $\pi$  the red stroke  $\mid$  has fallen out in the printing.



Pl. 39 A, 81, 30. The second black figure should be read  in place of , see above on 60, 11.

81, 33. The second black number is perhaps more probably , cf. 96, 2.



Pl. 41 A, 85, 18. In the printing black  $\cdot \cdot$  (=  $\varphi$ ) has fallen out after *hy*.

Pl. 43 A, 89, 16. The second black number certainly looks like , but the proximity of a number of entries with  makes it wellnigh certain that the same must be read here.

Pl. 44 A, 91, 31. The final figure  $\mid$  should have been printed in red.

91, 42. 43. The second black number is doubtless , not , in both lines; see the Corrections below, p. 214 on pp. 92 f.


Pl. 46 A, 94, 41. In the restored figures at the end of the line,  $\pi$  should have been printed in red.

95, 39. In the light of the facts recently discovered (see above, pp. 211 f.) there can be little doubt that  must here be read in place of ; the note must also be cancelled.

Pl. 48 A, 98, 10. The  $\mid$  immediately after  $\pi$  ought to have been printed in red.

98, 36. For  $\frac{\pi}{2}$  in the Plate of transcription substitute  $\frac{\pi}{2}$ .

Pl. 50 A, B 2 A, x+5. The two numbers for 50 and 10 have been erroneously printed in red.

B 3, 9. The highly improbable (see above, p. 181) sign for 900 is much damaged, but I cannot read it differently. The preceding  $\eta$  should, however, have been printed in red, and at the end  is certain.

B 3, 16. The restored  $\eta$  should have been printed in red.

Pl. 54 A, B, 7, 3. Above, p. 168, I have conjectured that the enigmatic sign here is  $\eta$ , as possibly also in 11, 4. The reading is very questionable.

Pl. 55. The number (B 8, 17A) ought probably to be changed to (8, 18A), see my note to the Translation.

Pl. 55 A, B 8, 34. The first sign is probably not  $\frac{\pi}{2}$ , but a clumsily made  $\eta$ , cf. 8, 6 and the note to the Translation on the present line.

Pl. 59 A, B 12, 34. In note *a* read B 8, 16 instead of B 8, 15.

Pl. 60 A, B 13, 15. Restore  $\left[ \frac{\pi}{2} \frac{\pi}{2} \frac{\pi}{2} \right]$  in the lacuna, cf. B 18, 6.

Pl. 62 A, B 15, 14. For the reading of the place-name here see above, p. 184, n. 1.

Pl. 65 A, B 18, 11. For note *a* substitute:  $\eta \eta \eta$  is almost certainly to be emended into  $\eta \eta \eta$ , cf.  $\eta \eta \eta$  in A 6, 14; 20, 44; for entries that almost certainly correspond to the present passage see No. 13 on p. 170, above.

Pl. 66 A, B 19, 15. For the reading of the place-name here see above, p. 184, n. 1.

Pl. 68 A, B 21, 11. The sign  $\eta$  ought to have been printed in red.

Pl. 69 A, B 22, 16. The textual note should be deleted.

Pl. 70 A, B 23, 26. From *p* *h* onwards should have been printed in red and the final title ought to have been transcribed  $\frac{\pi}{2} \frac{\pi}{2} \frac{\pi}{2} \frac{\pi}{2}$ , see above, p. 182.

Pl. 71 A, B 24, 22. The diacritical mark at the beginning should have been printed in red.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS: (2) TO THE COMMENTARY

p. 5, n. 1. This note requires some modification and elaboration in the light of the facts set forth above, pp. 211 f.

p. 12. For Junker's new theory of the meaning of the title *wr mrtw* see my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Text, II, pp. 267\* f.


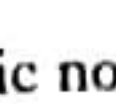
p. 54, n. 2. See further below, p. 216, the note on p. 178.

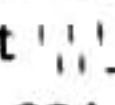
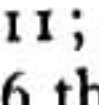
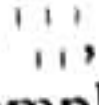
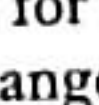
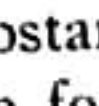
p. 57, fourth paragraph beginning 'The two model letters . . . .'. The conclusion here drawn requires reconsideration in the light of the theory set forth in the Postscript, pp. 208 ff.



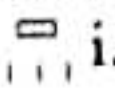
p. 76, bottom. In connexion with *m drt* the entry 23, 4 has been overlooked; here 'by his hand' clearly refers to '[the ser]vant Nesamūn' in 23, 2, for no one will credit the First Prophet with having cultivated the plot with his own hand. Evidently we must take our cue from this case, however difficult some of the examples quoted (e.g. 28, 29) may appear.

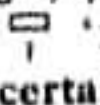
p. 77. For the probable sense of the verb *ini* here see the Postscript, p. 208.

pp. 90 ff. All these pages require some revision in the light of the discovery, made at too late a stage for my text to be modified, that the hieratic numerals for 1 (sometimes only), 2, 3 and 4 (these last always), when referring to arouras, are furnished with a hook at the top on the left; see above, pp. 211 f. Thus on p. 91, above, the second and third hieroglyphic examples should have shown  in place of simply , but the statistics are not affected in the Variety of assessment labelled I.<sup>1</sup>

pp. 92 f. Light is thrown upon Sub-variety I A by the discovery just mentioned, for the hieratic now shows that the number following the obscure sign transcribed as  $\perp$  refers to arouras no less than the number preceding it. If that sign were a mere angle, which it is not, one might have taken the entire expression to refer to a plot of  $x$  arouras in one direction together with another of  $y$  arouras at right-angles to it. It now seems possible, in spite of the difference in form, especially in that given to the sign by the second scribe, that it may after all be identical with the sign for subtraction found in the Greek papyri. This, however, assumes that the second number is always a lower one than the first. The tables (iv) and (v) show that to be true except as regards the six cases which I have quoted for 5  $\perp$  5. On re-examining these I am now convinced that  i.e. '5  $\perp$  1 ar.' should have been read in every occurrence. The six in question are 60, 11; 66, 20; 81, 30; 89, 16; 91, 42. 43; among these in 91, 42 the second number looks definitely like , and 60, 11; 66, 20; 91, 43 tend, though less certainly, in the same direction; on the other hand in 81, 30; 89, 16 the form more resembles , but clear examples with  are in the neighbourhood, so that the case for reading  in all six examples is overwhelming. The statistics must be altered accordingly, but the change in a mere six examples does not alter the general picture. A few examples must now be given to substantiate the observation with which this discussion started. There is the same hesitancy about the sign for '1 ar.' that has been noted for Variety I (see n. 1 on this page); thus we have the form without hook in 54, 10; 81, 40; but with it in 66, 18; 81, 22. 33; the hook is found with 2 both before (53, 22) and after (48, 19)  $\perp$ ; 3 occurs only before  $\perp$  and of course has the hook (e.g. 80, 38. 42), while 4 is not found at all.

pp. 93 f. Variety of assessment II. Here all is plain sailing; none of the four numbers (1, 2, 3, 4) shows the hook, and my statement and statistics are absolutely correct, so far as I can see. It is true that the second scribe twice (97, 10. 23)<sup>2</sup> inserts the word for 'aroura' before such complementary pairs of figures (see p. 97), but in the former case the figures are 4. 8 and the 4 is without the hook, showing that he was none the less thinking of land-cubits.

pp. 94 ff. Sub-variety of assessment II A. Here the presence of the hook is invariable with the number 3, so that my tentative query (p. 98) whether some of the examples of this Sub-variety are not in terms of the aroura rather than of the land-cubit is confirmed. In the three cases of the number 3 in the series of entries 75, 39-51 quoted on p. 95 , i.e. '3 ar.' ought to have been read, and many other examples will be found, e.g. in §§ 84. 211; the four examples listed as of 2 land-cubits at the top of p. 96 (see too n. 1) have the hook, but all are defective and '3 ar.' ought probably to have been read; the single instance of 4 (see 23, 18) has no hook and consequently 4 land-cubits are meant. That some examples of Sub-variety II A are in terms of the aroura is thus established, but the problem is to discover which. At the top of p. 98 fourteen examples of this Sub-variety are enumerated where the word for 'land-cubits' is prefixed, and these examples show the numbers 6 (17, 35), 12 (28, 2; 32, 44. 48), 24 (8, 8; 83, 12. 37), while the rest are of 100 land-cubits except 32, 51, which is of 500. What then of the

<sup>1</sup> As regards the number 1, this is invariably written without the hook in the first red number, if I have observed rightly; among examples, which are very frequent, see 38, 30; 45, 5. 6. 8; 46, 7. However, as the initial black 1, we find  '1 ar.' in 32, 22; 55, 34, and the second of these is the more certain, as it

occurs in a *pōsh* B entry, and is controlled both by the *f* following and by the corresponding *pōsh* A entry.

<sup>2</sup> The third example quoted on p. 97 involves a mistake of reading, see the Corrections above on Pl. 48 A, 98, 36.



multitudinous examples with the number 5 and those, still numerous though less so, with the numbers 10 and 20? As regards those with 5, they are shown so often in close proximity to entries with  $\overline{\text{3}}$  '3 ar.' (e.g. in the series 36, 1-13; 41, 43-9) that one cannot doubt that they too relate to arouras.<sup>1</sup> But 10 is likewise sometimes found in proximity to both '3 ar.' and '5 (ar.)', e.g. 41, 1. 8. 44. Perhaps a closer analysis would establish the fact that in this Sub-variety of assessment all the multiples of 5 short of 100 refer to arouras, while all the multiples of 6 refer to land-cubits. In any case, the Table at the top of p. 96 will need substantial readjustment.

p. 97, ll. 18 f. The three examples, 97, 10. 23; 98, 36 here quoted have been discussed above in the Correction to pp. 93 f. The charge against the second scribe of inserting the word *št* where it does not belong now holds only of two examples, but it remains true that he shows an exaggerated liking for the insertion of that word and that we do not find him using *mḥ*-t at all.

p. 112, n. 5. The example here referred to is  $\overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{5}} \overline{\text{10}} \overline{\text{20}} \overline{\text{40}} \overline{\text{60}} \overline{\text{80}} \overline{\text{100}} \overline{\text{120}} \overline{\text{140}} \overline{\text{160}} \overline{\text{180}} \overline{\text{200}} \overline{\text{220}} \overline{\text{240}} \overline{\text{260}} \overline{\text{280}} \overline{\text{300}} \overline{\text{320}} \overline{\text{340}} \overline{\text{360}} \overline{\text{380}} \overline{\text{400}} \overline{\text{420}} \overline{\text{440}} \overline{\text{460}} \overline{\text{480}} \overline{\text{500}} \overline{\text{520}} \overline{\text{540}} \overline{\text{560}} \overline{\text{580}} \overline{\text{600}} \overline{\text{620}} \overline{\text{640}} \overline{\text{660}} \overline{\text{680}} \overline{\text{700}} \overline{\text{720}} \overline{\text{740}} \overline{\text{760}} \overline{\text{780}} \overline{\text{800}} \overline{\text{820}} \overline{\text{840}} \overline{\text{860}} \overline{\text{880}} \overline{\text{900}} \overline{\text{920}} \overline{\text{940}} \overline{\text{960}} \overline{\text{980}} \overline{\text{1000}}$  'South-eastern boundary of the land donated to the statue of King Menkheprurē (Tuthmosis IV)', Cairo 34021, see Mariette, *Mon. divers*, Pl. XLVII, A; Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, p. 41, with Pl. XII.

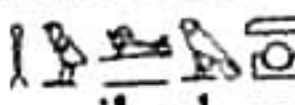

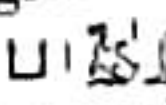
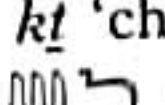
p. 115, l. 16. For this Memphite temple see further, p. 176. The words 'in Truth' are common to the name in the Turin and the Wilbour papyri, but are absent in the Bologna letter.


p. 168, l. 8 from bottom. For the House of the Adoratrix of Amūn see too the Valençay letter translated in the Postscript above, p. 205.

p. 177, with n. 2. Some recent literature not available to me when this page was written places an entirely new complexion upon the problem discussed in the note, and suggests that the place-name read P-tjesy-Ḥu in the text should be given as P-tjesy-Ḥaur. The new evidence centres around the Semitic god whose name is vocalized by Albright as Ḥaurōn. His existence in the hieroglyphs was first revealed by a statue of Ramesses 'beloved of  $\overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{5}} \overline{\text{10}} \overline{\text{20}} \overline{\text{40}} \overline{\text{60}} \overline{\text{80}} \overline{\text{100}} \overline{\text{120}} \overline{\text{140}} \overline{\text{160}} \overline{\text{180}} \overline{\text{200}} \overline{\text{220}} \overline{\text{240}} \overline{\text{260}} \overline{\text{280}} \overline{\text{300}} \overline{\text{320}} \overline{\text{340}} \overline{\text{360}} \overline{\text{380}} \overline{\text{400}} \overline{\text{420}} \overline{\text{440}} \overline{\text{460}} \overline{\text{480}} \overline{\text{500}} \overline{\text{520}} \overline{\text{540}} \overline{\text{560}} \overline{\text{580}} \overline{\text{600}} \overline{\text{620}} \overline{\text{640}} \overline{\text{660}} \overline{\text{680}} \overline{\text{700}} \overline{\text{720}} \overline{\text{740}} \overline{\text{760}} \overline{\text{780}} \overline{\text{800}} \overline{\text{820}} \overline{\text{840}} \overline{\text{860}} \overline{\text{880}} \overline{\text{900}} \overline{\text{920}} \overline{\text{940}} \overline{\text{960}} \overline{\text{980}} \overline{\text{1000}}$  Ḥaurōn' discovered at Tanis by Montet (*Revue biblique*, April, 1935); the deity is there portrayed as a falcon, i.e. in the form of Horus. Montet quoted Lacau for the information that this god, written  $\overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{5}} \overline{\text{10}} \overline{\text{20}} \overline{\text{40}} \overline{\text{60}} \overline{\text{80}} \overline{\text{100}} \overline{\text{120}} \overline{\text{140}} \overline{\text{160}} \overline{\text{180}} \overline{\text{200}} \overline{\text{220}} \overline{\text{240}} \overline{\text{260}} \overline{\text{280}} \overline{\text{300}} \overline{\text{320}} \overline{\text{340}} \overline{\text{360}} \overline{\text{380}} \overline{\text{400}} \overline{\text{420}} \overline{\text{440}} \overline{\text{460}} \overline{\text{480}} \overline{\text{500}} \overline{\text{520}} \overline{\text{540}} \overline{\text{560}} \overline{\text{580}} \overline{\text{600}} \overline{\text{620}} \overline{\text{640}} \overline{\text{660}} \overline{\text{680}} \overline{\text{700}} \overline{\text{720}} \overline{\text{740}} \overline{\text{760}} \overline{\text{780}} \overline{\text{800}} \overline{\text{820}} \overline{\text{840}} \overline{\text{860}} \overline{\text{880}} \overline{\text{900}} \overline{\text{920}} \overline{\text{940}} \overline{\text{960}} \overline{\text{980}} \overline{\text{1000}}$ , occurs four times in *P. mag. Harris*, vs. 1, 7; 2, 1. 2. 9, but himself added the unfortunate hypothesis that the name of the same god is seen in certain spellings of the *nomen* of King Ḥaremḥab; that hypothesis need not, however, be considered further here since, after being questioned by Albright in his article 'The Canaanite God Ḥaurōn (Ḥôrōn)' in *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, LIII (1936), 2, n. 7, it was finally disposed of by Sethe in *Journ. Near East. Stud.*, IV (1945), 234 ff. Among other information due to Albright he pointed out, after Isidore Lévy, that Ḥaurōn must be the same deity as is referred to in the Biblical place-name Beth-Ḥôrōn, and cited a Greek inscription mentioning *Αὐρωνα* of Jamnia. Unexpected new Egyptian testimony to the god Ḥaurōn came to light on certain faience tiles which were acquired for the Brooklyn Museum; first published by Albright in *Bull. Am. Sch. Orient. Res.*, No. 84, 7 ff. with figs. 1, 2, they have now been reproduced in photograph by Capart in *Chronique d'Égypte*, No. 41 (Jan. 1946), 46 ff. Here Amenophis II is represented as 'beloved of  $\overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{5}} \overline{\text{10}} \overline{\text{20}} \overline{\text{40}} \overline{\text{60}} \overline{\text{80}} \overline{\text{100}} \overline{\text{120}} \overline{\text{140}} \overline{\text{160}} \overline{\text{180}} \overline{\text{200}} \overline{\text{220}} \overline{\text{240}} \overline{\text{260}} \overline{\text{280}} \overline{\text{300}} \overline{\text{320}} \overline{\text{340}} \overline{\text{360}} \overline{\text{380}} \overline{\text{400}} \overline{\text{420}} \overline{\text{440}} \overline{\text{460}} \overline{\text{480}} \overline{\text{500}} \overline{\text{520}} \overline{\text{540}} \overline{\text{560}} \overline{\text{580}} \overline{\text{600}} \overline{\text{620}} \overline{\text{640}} \overline{\text{660}} \overline{\text{680}} \overline{\text{700}} \overline{\text{720}} \overline{\text{740}} \overline{\text{760}} \overline{\text{780}} \overline{\text{800}} \overline{\text{820}} \overline{\text{840}} \overline{\text{860}} \overline{\text{880}} \overline{\text{900}} \overline{\text{920}} \overline{\text{940}} \overline{\text{960}} \overline{\text{980}} \overline{\text{1000}}$  Ḥaurōn' or alternatively 'of  $\overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{5}} \overline{\text{10}} \overline{\text{20}} \overline{\text{40}} \overline{\text{60}} \overline{\text{80}} \overline{\text{100}} \overline{\text{120}} \overline{\text{140}} \overline{\text{160}} \overline{\text{180}} \overline{\text{200}} \overline{\text{220}} \overline{\text{240}} \overline{\text{260}} \overline{\text{280}} \overline{\text{300}} \overline{\text{320}} \overline{\text{340}} \overline{\text{360}} \overline{\text{380}} \overline{\text{400}} \overline{\text{420}} \overline{\text{440}} \overline{\text{460}} \overline{\text{480}} \overline{\text{500}} \overline{\text{520}} \overline{\text{540}} \overline{\text{560}} \overline{\text{580}} \overline{\text{600}} \overline{\text{620}} \overline{\text{640}} \overline{\text{660}} \overline{\text{680}} \overline{\text{700}} \overline{\text{720}} \overline{\text{740}} \overline{\text{760}} \overline{\text{780}} \overline{\text{800}} \overline{\text{820}} \overline{\text{840}} \overline{\text{860}} \overline{\text{880}} \overline{\text{900}} \overline{\text{920}} \overline{\text{940}} \overline{\text{960}} \overline{\text{980}} \overline{\text{1000}}$  Harmachis'. Harmachis is well known as the designation given by the Greeks to the Sphinx of Gīzah (*C.I.G.* 3, 4961 ff.) and is also found on the hieroglyphic stelae from that site. That the Brooklyn plaques emanate from the excavations there is confirmed by the presence in the excavator's magazine of various stelae, still unpublished, likewise naming the god Ḥaurōn (Capart, loc. cit.; also *Syria*, XVIII, 405). Yet further evidence from Egyptian sources was produced by Posener in *Journ. Near East. Stud.* IV (1945), 240 ff., and included  $\overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{5}} \overline{\text{10}} \overline{\text{20}} \overline{\text{40}} \overline{\text{60}} \overline{\text{80}} \overline{\text{100}} \overline{\text{120}} \overline{\text{140}} \overline{\text{160}} \overline{\text{180}} \overline{\text{200}} \overline{\text{220}} \overline{\text{240}} \overline{\text{260}} \overline{\text{280}} \overline{\text{300}} \overline{\text{320}} \overline{\text{340}} \overline{\text{360}} \overline{\text{380}} \overline{\text{400}} \overline{\text{420}} \overline{\text{440}} \overline{\text{460}} \overline{\text{480}} \overline{\text{500}} \overline{\text{520}} \overline{\text{540}} \overline{\text{560}} \overline{\text{580}} \overline{\text{600}} \overline{\text{620}} \overline{\text{640}} \overline{\text{660}} \overline{\text{680}} \overline{\text{700}} \overline{\text{720}} \overline{\text{740}} \overline{\text{760}} \overline{\text{780}} \overline{\text{800}} \overline{\text{820}} \overline{\text{840}} \overline{\text{860}} \overline{\text{880}} \overline{\text{900}} \overline{\text{920}} \overline{\text{940}} \overline{\text{960}} \overline{\text{980}} \overline{\text{1000}}$  'the House of Ḥryn' recognized by Černý in *Sall.* IV, vs. 4, 6 = my *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 91, 14, where the wealth of Memphis is being extolled. This recent information (*Rec. trav.* XVII, 158) goes far to confirm Spiegelberg's opinion that  $\overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{5}} \overline{\text{10}} \overline{\text{20}} \overline{\text{40}} \overline{\text{60}} \overline{\text{80}} \overline{\text{100}} \overline{\text{120}} \overline{\text{140}} \overline{\text{160}} \overline{\text{180}} \overline{\text{200}} \overline{\text{220}} \overline{\text{240}} \overline{\text{260}} \overline{\text{280}} \overline{\text{300}} \overline{\text{320}} \overline{\text{340}} \overline{\text{360}} \overline{\text{380}} \overline{\text{400}} \overline{\text{420}} \overline{\text{440}} \overline{\text{460}} \overline{\text{480}} \overline{\text{500}} \overline{\text{520}} \overline{\text{540}} \overline{\text{560}} \overline{\text{580}} \overline{\text{600}} \overline{\text{620}} \overline{\text{640}} \overline{\text{660}} \overline{\text{680}} \overline{\text{700}} \overline{\text{720}} \overline{\text{740}} \overline{\text{760}} \overline{\text{780}} \overline{\text{800}} \overline{\text{820}} \overline{\text{840}} \overline{\text{860}} \overline{\text{880}} \overline{\text{900}} \overline{\text{920}} \overline{\text{940}} \overline{\text{960}} \overline{\text{980}} \overline{\text{1000}}$  P. Turin A, vs. 3, 3 = *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 123 refers to the Sphinx. He read the essential word here as *Hw*, which is the reading adopted above in the body of the present volume, his grounds for both identification and reading being solely the so-called stela of the daughter of Cheops (Porter & Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, 6; Saite or Ptolemaic?) where  $\overline{\text{3}} \overline{\text{5}} \overline{\text{10}} \overline{\text{20}} \overline{\text{40}} \overline{\text{60}} \overline{\text{80}} \overline{\text{100}} \overline{\text{120}} \overline{\text{140}} \overline{\text{160}} \overline{\text{180}} \overline{\text{200}} \overline{\text{220}} \overline{\text{240}} \overline{\text{260}} \overline{\text{280}} \overline{\text{300}} \overline{\text{320}} \overline{\text{340}} \overline{\text{360}} \overline{\text{380}} \overline{\text{400}} \overline{\text{420}} \overline{\text{440}} \overline{\text{460}} \overline{\text{480}} \overline{\text{500}} \overline{\text{520}} \overline{\text{540}} \overline{\text{560}} \overline{\text{580}} \overline{\text{600}} \overline{\text{620}} \overline{\text{640}} \overline{\text{660}} \overline{\text{680}} \overline{\text{700}} \overline{\text{720}} \overline{\text{740}} \overline{\text{760}} \overline{\text{780}} \overline{\text{800}} \overline{\text{820}} \overline{\text{840}} \overline{\text{860}} \overline{\text{880}} \overline{\text{900}} \overline{\text{920}} \overline{\text{940}} \overline{\text{960}} \overline{\text{980}} \overline{\text{1000}}$  occurs twice, once plainly in reference to the

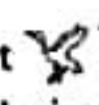
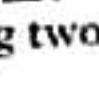
<sup>1</sup> See too in 31, 6 an example with 5 in the midst of a number of entries of Variety I also with 5, here of course 5 arouras.



neighbouring Sphinx, which is depicted and labelled Harmachis. But as Posener (loc. cit.) points out, whereas in the place just mentioned it would be possible to translate  as 'the Sphinx (*hw*) of Harmachis', in the other case, where the House of Isis is described as  may well have had something to do with the identification, as indeed is hinted by the substitution of the human-headed lion on the stela just quoted, but there must surely have been a phonetic reason as well. The Sphinx of Gīzah, as his name Harmachis shows, was a form of Horus, and at Tanis Haurōn was a Horus. There can be no doubt that the assonance of the two names was responsible for the identification. But more than this, in the Turin and Wilbour papyri the name of Haurōn is reduced to  *kt* 'charioteer' (Burchardt, *Altkan. Fremdworte*, No. 1039) beside  *Sht-Dnt*, see *JEA* v, 246 ff.; and other examples quoted in my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Text, I, 172\* f.

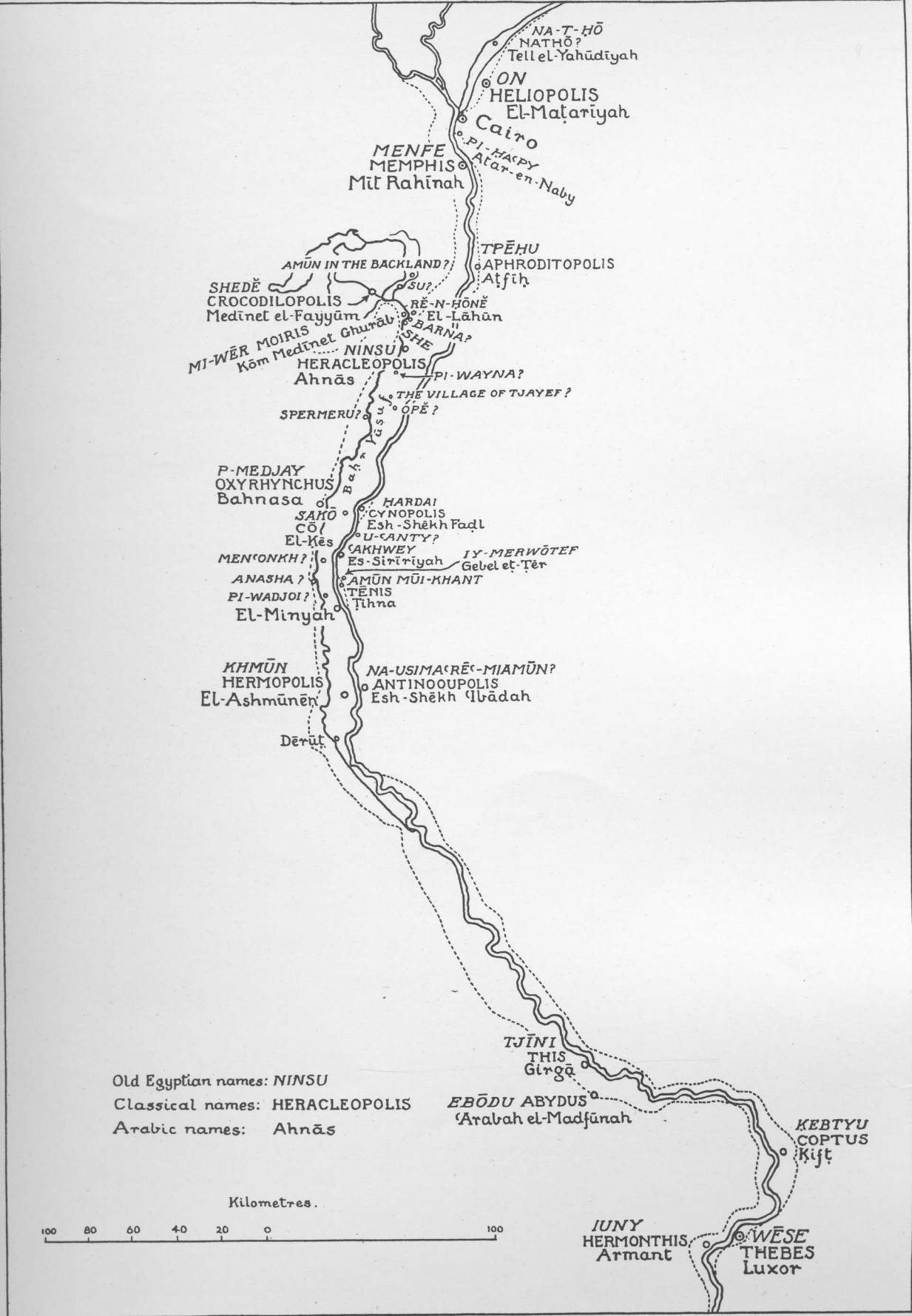
I confess I part from *Hu* as a name of the Sphinx with great reluctance, since that word signifies 'Authoritative Utterance', which was, together with *Sia* 'Perception', the principal attribute of the king and of his prototype the god Atum, whose 'living image' (*šsp rnh*) the Sphinx was, see *Proc. S.B.A.* xxxviii (1916), 93 f. This meaning of *hw* must also be deleted from the Berlin dictionary (III, 45, 1). Lastly, Capart (loc. cit.) has made the ingenious suggestion that the name of Haurōn survives in the designation Abu'l Hawl given by Arabic writers to the Sphinx. This Arabic name means 'Father of the Terror', and the initial Abu might well represent the ancient 

p. 178. At the end of par. 7 the words 'nothing suggests that this extended farther south than Zone IV of Text A' are not quite correct, since B 19, 14 mentions a plot to the east of Pi-Wadjoi. Whether this indicates that Pi-Wadjoi was situated farther north than was surmised on p. 54 is uncertain, but anyhow this town lay a little more to the south than Tihna.

<sup>1</sup> It is not unlikely also that  in the Turin papyrus should be understood as , there being two other examples of 'House

of Haurōn', but none of that god's name with the definite article. For the interchange of *p* and *pr* see above, p. 15, n. 4.





MAP I.

TO SHOW THE TOWNS AND VILLAGES THE TEMPLES  
OF WHICH OWNED FIELDS NAMED IN TEXT A.



## MAP II

TO SHOW THE REGIONS IN WHICH THE FIELDS NAMED IN TEXTS A & B WERE SITUATED

DATA that are merely hypothetical are printed in **red**.

ALL the fields mentioned in Text A lay within the four Zones marked with Roman numerals (**I, II, III, IV**). The boundaries of the Zones are indicated by dotted lines and, being guesswork, though not by any means groundless guesswork, are printed in **red**.

TOWNS or villages the names of which are printed in **red**, (e.g. **ANASHA**) are of uncertain location; they are inserted merely to show positions in which they may, in the Editor's opinion, most reasonably be sought. The grounds for this opinion are almost always given in the Commentary.

SITES of towns or villages having field-owning temples are underlined with a straight line (e.g. NINSU) if the fields are mentioned in Text A, and with a wavy line (e.g. H-NĒSU) if the fields are mentioned only in Text B. Some sites underlined with a straight line may have fields mentioned in Text B as well as Text A.

Old Egyptian names: *NINSU*.  
Classical names: HERACLEOPOLIS.  
Arabic names: Ahnās.

Kilometres.

0 5 10 15 20 40 60

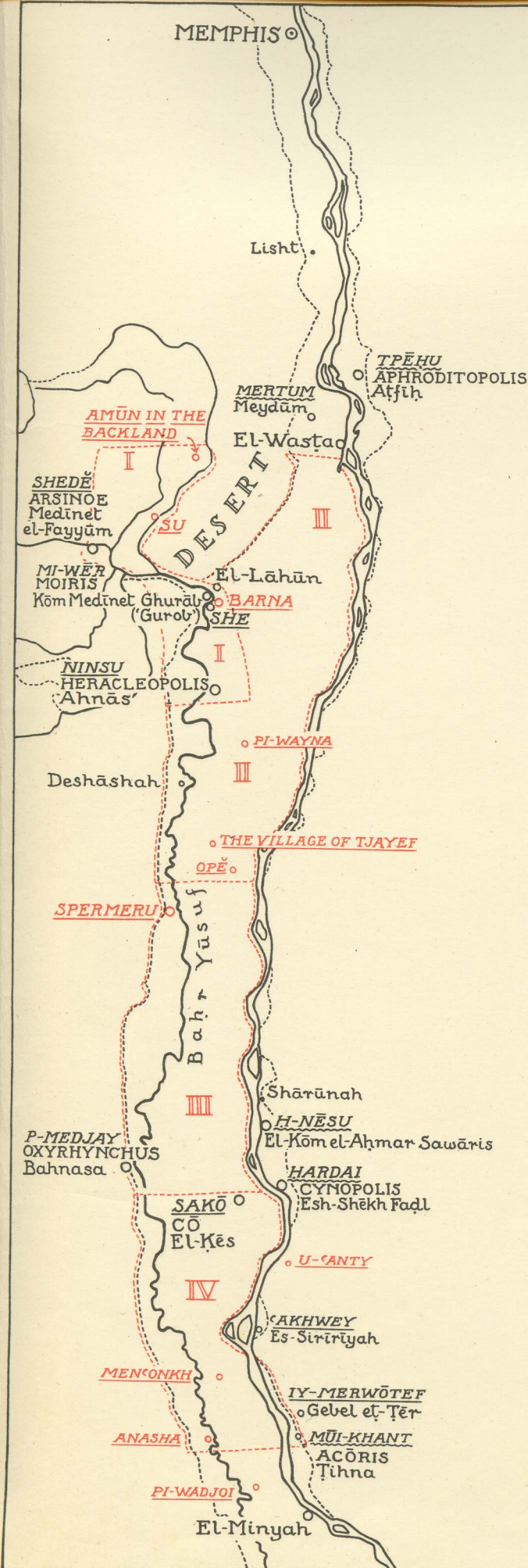




TABLE I. TEMPLE SITES

Note that place-names within square brackets [ ] are not actually mentioned in the text, but are certain deductions from the names of the deity or deities, or from other data.

In one or two cases names of deities are substituted for place-names, when the town of the cult is unknown; such names are placed in ( ).

Under the headings of the Harris papyrus and the Golénischeff Onomasticon vertical dots are placed between those place-names which are separated from one another by others. The names in the Onomasticon are here accorded the numbers assigned to them in the Commentary on that document in my *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*.

SECTIONS OF P. WILBOUR				P. HARRIS, 61, a. b	GOL. ON., 4, 15-5, 8
I	II	III	IV		
			Hermonthis, § 249	..	Hermonthis (332)
		[Coptus], § 157 <sup>1</sup>	..	Coptus, a, 8	Coptus (340)
	Abydus, § 87	Abydus, § 158	Abydus, § 250 <sup>2</sup>	2	Abydus (350)
			Hermopolis, § 252	Hermopolis, b, 3	Hermopolis (377)
	Na-Usima-rē-miamūn, § 89 <sup>3</sup>	..	..	..	..
	P-Wadjoi, § 90	..	..	P-Wadjoi, b, 8	Pi-Wadjoi (380)
			(Amūn Mui-Khant), § 253	(Amūn Mui-Khant), b, 9	Pi-Mui (383)
		Anashana, § 159	Ashana, § 254	Anasha, b, 10	..
		..	Men'onkh, § 262	..	Men'onkh (384)
		..	'Akhwey, § 264 <sup>3</sup>	..	..
	Sakō, § 91	Sakō, § 160	Sakō, § 268	Hardai, b, 11	Hardai (385)
			..	..	Sakō (386)
[? § 28, see below] <sup>4</sup>	Spermeru, § 92	Spermeru, § 163	..	Spermeru, b, 12	Spermeru (388)
Heracleopolis, § 4	..	..	..	Heracleopolis, b, 13	Heracleopolis (389)
[(Osiris Khant-'Aru)], § 11 <sup>7</sup>	..	..	..	..	..
She, §§ 24, 26	..	..	..	..	She (390)
Barna, § 25	..	..	..	..	Robana (391)
Rē-n-hōnē, i.e. El-Lāhūn, § 20	..	..	..	..	..
(Suchus the Shedtite), i.e. Crocodylopolis, § 12	..	..	..	(Suchus the Shedtite), b, 14	..
[Su?], § 28 <sup>6</sup>	..	..	..	Su, b, 15	..
(Amūn in the Backland), § 30	..	..	..	(Amūn in the Back- land), b, 16	..
			..	Aphroditopolis, b, 17	Aphroditopolis (393)
			..	..	Memphis (394)
			Cf. Pi-Ha'py, § 238 <sup>8</sup>	Cf. Pi-Ha'py, 29, 7 <sup>8</sup>	Pi-Ha'py (397)

<sup>1</sup> In theory Ekhmīm might be meant, that town having the same deities as Coptus, see *Harris*, 61, a, 11, compared with *ibid.*, a, 8. But the order of the paragraphs in P. Wilbour speaks in favour of Coptus.

<sup>2</sup> The Harris papyrus places Abydus and This in front of the other temples, in the former case probably on account of its special importance, and in the latter probably because it hangs closely together with its companion. The town of This (*Tnl*) occurs also in the Wilbour (§ 186), but not among the temples. The Wilbour also once has Abydus out of place (§ 234).

<sup>3</sup> With the cult of Thoth. Perhaps to be placed at Shēkh 'Ibādah, the later Antinopolis.

<sup>4</sup> The Harris papyrus, like P. Wilbour except in B 10, 16, uses the definite article *ḥt*, not the word for 'house' *ḥt*. Hence the first element is here rendered as P-, not Pi-.

<sup>5</sup> Known to be Es-Sirīyah on the east bank, quite 20 km. to the south of Cynopolis.

<sup>6</sup> For the question whether this section belongs to Spermeru or to Su, see p. 14 and § 28 in the Synopsis.

<sup>7</sup> On this temple see the Synopsis under § 11.

<sup>8</sup> This place was closely associated with Heliopolis, and is placed in the Heliopolitan section by both the Wilbour and the Harris papyri, see above, p. 12.







TABLE II. PLACE-NAMES IN THE LINES OF MEASUREMENT OF TEXT A THAT OCCUR IN MORE THAN ONE COLUMN

			Section I					Section II					Section III					Section IV					REMARKS	No																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																
No	TRANSCRIPTION OF HIERATIC	RENDERING IN TRANSLATION	1	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90	95			100	102																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																														
1		Akh-su . . .																		*																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				



TABLE III (concluded)

NAME	GOD AND LOCALITY	MINĖ-LAND	KHATO-LAND	TEMPLE LAND	DONATED LAND	PERSONAL LAND	REMARKS
Manenūfe	Amūn Founder of the Earth (in Opě	—	B 24, 2 (§ 43) <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup>	A 39, 17 (C § 96)	—	—	In Opě, between Zones II and III, see A § 96; in B 24, 3 Opě is named in the line following the heading. In A 39, 17 Manenūfe is simply a ‘cultivator’. The locality is unknown; for a guess, however, see the Synopsis of Text B, under § 38.
Marye	Amūn of Pi-Ōn	—	B 23, 17 (§ 38)	—	—	—	
Merybarsě (1)	Nephthys (of Spermeru)	—	pA 39, 14 <i>ḥ</i> <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> (= 43, 28); A 43, 25 (§ 116) <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> ; pA 57, 14 <i>ḥ</i> <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> (= 74, 33); A 74, 28 (§ 206) <sup>G&lt;L&gt;</sup>	—	—	—	The <i>pōsh</i> -entry A 39, 14 is in a paragraph (§ 95) belonging to the temple of Nephthys of Raʿmesse-miamūn in Spermeru, cf. the headings of §§ 92–5 combined with the mention of Nephthys A 74, 28. The prophet in B 22, 10 (§ 30) is Penpmer. The name only in A § 198; there is no ground for identifying Merybarsě (1) with Merybarsě (2). The two <i>pōsh</i> -entries under <i>mině</i> -land erroneously write <i>khato</i> for <i>mině</i> .
Merybarsě (2), Overseer of Prophets	—	pA 10, 8 <i>ḥ</i> <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup> (= 19, 37); A 19, 31 (§ 40) <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup> ; pA 56, 3 <i>ḥ</i> <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup> (= 72, 23); A 72, 20 (§ 198) <sup>N</sup>	pA 40, 8 <i>ḥ</i> <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup> (= 43, 19); A 43, 16 (§ 114) <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup> , see Corr.; B 13, 2 (§ 9) <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup>	—	—	—	
Merytūm, 1st pr.	Rēʿ-Ḥarakhti (in Heliopolis)	—	—	A 55, 10 (§ 144) <sup>&lt;LN&gt;</sup>	—	A 34, 49 <sup>N</sup> ; 35, 3. 5. 7 <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup>	Mentioned only by the title <i>wr mꜣw</i> ‘Greatest of Seers’ except in A 34, 49.
Nata, 2nd pr.	Seth of Spermeru	—	—	A 63, 27 (§ 164) <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup>	—	—	For god and locality see under A § 163. The first prophet was doubtless Ḥuy (3) above.
Nebnūfe	Amūn of Mertum	—	B 24, 23 (§ 50)	—	—	—	Mertum = Meydūm.
Neferkhaʿu	Sunshade which is in Heracleo- polis	—	B 23, 20 (§ 39)	—	—	—	Another prophet, see Ḳaḥa above.
Nūfe	Arsaphes of Heracleopolis	—	pA 6, 13 < <i>ḥ</i> > (= 20, 43); A 20, 37 (§ 47)	A 4, y+1 (§ 4) <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup> ; 6, 7 (§ 6) <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup>	—	—	The name is lost in the heading of A § 4 and possibly given as Neferʿo in 6, 13. Five unnamed prophets of this temple in B 18, 5 (§ 18). The locality is named in the line B 22, 8 after the heading of § 29.
Penḥasi (1)	Mont in the Village of Inroyshes	—	B 22, 7 (§ 29) <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup>	A 29, 20 (C § 62); 29, 24 (§ 63) <i>f</i>	—	A 29, 27; 29, 28 <i>f</i>	
„ (2)	Amūn Foreteller of Victory (in Sakō)	—	B 24, 11 (§ 46) <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup>	A 99, 27 (§ 270)	—	—	Associated with Kanūfe of Sakō in B § 46; the temple is mentioned in the line after the heading.
Penpmer	Nephthys (of Spermeru)	—	B 22, 10 (§ 30) <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup>	—	—	—	Spermeru is named in B 22, 11, the line after the heading. For a different prophet, see above, Merybarsě (1).
Pentwērē	Temple of Raʿmesse-miamūn Beloved of his Army	—	B 22, 27 (§ 33) <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup>	—	—	—	In the Heracleopolite nome, see Cairo, <i>f. d’entrée</i> 39410, l. 18 ( <i>Mélanges Maspero</i> , 1, 824).
Piu	Suchus (of Anasha)	—	B 25, 17 (§ 62) <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup>	—	—	—	The place-name in B 25, 18 suggests the neighbourhood of Anasha, see A 94, 22. See also under Ptaḥmosě and Ḥōri (8). Certainly not far from El-Lāhūn.
Pʿonpōr	Suchus (of a Fayyūm town)	—	—	A 15, 30 (§ 21) <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup> ; 15, 35 (§ 22) <i>f</i>	—	A 1, x+14 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> ?; 8, 53 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> ; 15, 37 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> A 27, 20 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup>	
Praʿemḥab	Amūn of the Island, which is in The Houses of the God	—	—	CpA 25, 5 (= 39, 35); A 39, 34 (C § 98); pA 35, 12 <i>ḥ</i> <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> (= 39, 38)	—	—	Found also in A 36, 41 administering fields for the Despatch-writer of Pharaoh, <i>pōsh</i> -entry, Type C.
Pshedu	Amūn Overthrower of His Attacker	—	B 23, 8 (§ 36) <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup>	—	—	—	Somewhere in the Heracleopolite nome.
Psiūr	Unknown	—	—	—	—	A 18, 12 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup>	—
Ptaḥmosě	Suchus (Sebk-Rēʿ) of Anasha	—	B 25, 21 (§ 64) <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup>	pA 83, 19 <i>r</i> <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup> (= 94, 26); pA 86, 34 <i>r</i> <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup> (= 94, 41); pA 88, 15 <i>r</i> <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup> (= 94, 32); pA 88, 33 <i>r</i> <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup> (= 94, 29); A 94, 9 (§ 256); 94, 15 (§ 257) <i>f</i> A 21, 17 (§ 51) <sup>N</sup> ; 25, 22 (§ 58) <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup> ; 44, 2 (§ 117) <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup> ; 45, 41 (§ 122) <sup>N</sup> ; 75, 2 (§ 208) <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup> ; 76, 28 (§ 214) <sup>N</sup>	A 82, 33 <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup> ; 90, 27 <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup>	A 95, 15 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> ; 95, 18 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> ; 97, 31 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup>	Probably 1st prophet, see A § 257, as well as in charge of the foundation of Ramesses IV (A § 256). That this temple is referred to in B § 64 is indicated by the place-name B 25, 22, see A 95, 36. Second prophet, Ḥōri (8); another prophet above, Piu.
Raʿmessenakhte (1), 1st pr.	Amūn King of the Gods (of Karnak)	—	—	—	A 33, 30 <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup>	A 23, 4 <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup> ; 32, 51 <sup>&lt;N&gt;</sup> ; 36, 32 <sup>N</sup>	See Lefebvre, <i>Histoire des grand-prêtres</i> , 177 ff. In A §§ 51. 117. 208 he belongs to Karnak; in §§ 58. 122. 214 he has charge of the temple of Ramesses V.
Raʿmessenakhte (2),	Horus of Ḥ-nesu	—	B 24, 27 (§ 51)	—	—	—	Ḥ-nesu = Kōm el-Aḥmar Sawāris, see p. 52.
Raʿmesseusikhopshef	Suchus Shedti (of Crocodilopolis)	—	B 20, 23 (§ 25) <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup>	—	—	A 14, 9 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> ; 14, 10 <i>f</i> ; 14, 11 <i>f</i> A 6, x+8. x+11 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup>	As owner of land in a paragraph (A § 17) belonging to Crocodilopolis, see § 12 with Corr. For another prophet see Sebkmosě.
Sebkḥotpe	(Arsaphes of Heracleopolis?)	—	—	—	—	—	In a paragraph (A § 6) belonging to Arsaphes of Heracleopolis.
Sebkmosě	(Suchus Shedti of Crocodilo- polis?)	—	—	—	—	A 15, 9 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup>	In a paragraph (A § 17) belonging to Crocodilopolis, like Raʿmesseusikhopshef above.
Siedjō	Buto of Pi-Edjō	—	B 24, 20 (§ 49)	—	—	—	Doubtless in the Heracleopolite nome, see Cairo, <i>f. d’entrée</i> 39410, l. 22 ( <i>Mélanges Maspero</i> , 1, 824).
Sunero	Suchus the Shedtite of Croco- dilopolis	—	A 21, 12 (§ 50) <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> ; B 21, 7 (§ 26) <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup>	A 12, 20 (§ 14) <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup>	—	—	God and locality are given by A 10, 18 (§ 12), see Corr., Pl. 73 (A), and pp. 42 ff.
Wennofrě (1)	Seth of Pi-Wayna, also of Bast	—	CpA 40, 7 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> (= 43, 19); 43, 18 (C § 114) <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> ; B 23, 25 (§ 40)	A 39, 41 (C § 99); 40, 5 (§ 100) <i>f</i>	—	A 40, 10	Said to be prophet of Bast in B § 40, but from the contexts in Text A doubtless also prophet of Seth at Pi-Wayna (Zone II). For the location note in B § 40 that some fields are near Pi-Wayna, others near Su.
„ (2)	ʿAnti of U-ʿAnti	—	—	A 98, 27 (§ 265); 98, 29. 31. 33 (C § 265) <i>f</i> ; 98, 34 (§ 266) <i>f</i> A 49, 41 (§ 127); A 78, 45 (§ 220)	—	A 98, 36 <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup>	U-ʿAnti lay to N. of Es-Sirīriyah, but S. of El-Ḳēs, see p. 52 and the Synopsis of Text A, under § 265.
Name unknown, <i>Setem</i> -priest	The Mansion of Raʿmesse- miamūn (in Medīnet Habu)	—	—	—	—	—	In A 89, 4 (§ 240) Setem is a personal name; the bearer is not a prophet.



TABLE III  
THE PROPHETS NAMED IN THE WILBOUR PAPYRUS

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS: (§ 34) = named in the heading or sub-heading. (C § 62) = cultivator in this non-apportioning paragraph. pA 6, 10 = *pōsh*-entry of Type B in this place. pCA 25, 5 = named as cultivator in this *pōsh*-entry. pA 59, 19 *ḥ* = named after *ḥt* at end of this *pōsh*-entry. pA 81, 43 *r* named after *rmnyt* at end of this *pōsh*-entry. *f* = referred to only by a suffix-pronoun. < > = something omitted that is needed or expected. G = name of god or goddess. L = name of locality. N = name of the prophet himself. G, L, N are only noted when there could be a doubt about their presence.

NAME	GOD AND LOCALITY	<i>MINĖ</i> -LAND	<i>KHATO</i> -LAND	TEMPLE LAND	DONATED LAND	PERSONAL LAND	REMARKS
Amenemopē 2nd pr.	Unknown	—	—	—	—	A 56, 42; 56, 43 <i>f</i>	Deceased. Site of his temple unknown.
Amenemuia	Suchus the Shedtite (in Croco- dilopolis)	—	B 21, 7 (§ 26)	—	—	—	See Syn. B, under § 25.
Amenkhaʿ	Sunshade which is in She	—	—	A 16, 9 (§ 26); A 16, 14 (§ 27) <i>f</i>	—	A 16, 25; 16, 26–8 <i>f</i>	Another prophet, see Henūfe below.
Amenmaniu	Unknown	—	—	—	—	A 37, 2<GL>	His fields lay N. of Pi-Wayna in Zone II.
Amenopē	Seth of Su	—	B 24, 29 (§ 52)	—	—	—	Cf. B 13, 11 <sup>N</sup> , red; 13, 10 names Su.
Anḥerrekh	(Ḥathōr), Lady of Aphroditopolis	—	B 22, 31 (§ 34)<G>	—	—	—	—
ʿAnkhaʿ	Amūn, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands	—	—	—	—	A 66, 8	Locality uncertain, Thebes itself not excluded. Temples of Amūn with this epithet in She (A § 24) and in the Backland (A § 30); the same epithet also in <i>pōsh</i> Type C, A 78, 14; 85, 17.
Ḥarmōse	Ptaḥ	—	B 25, 9 (§ 58)<L>	—	—	—	ʿSon of Penamūn.’ Locality unknown.
Henūfe	Sunshade which is in She	—	B 23, 4 (§ 35)	—	—	—	Another prophet, see Amenkhaʿ above.
Ḥōri (1)	Suchus the Shedtite (in Croco- dilopolis)	A 19, 33 (C § 40)<L>	A 21, 8 (§ 49)<L>	pA 6, 10 <i>r</i> <sup>G</sup> ; 10, 19 (§ 12) <sup>L</sup> ; 11, 7 (§ 13) <i>f</i>	—	A 14, 22<G>; 14, 23 <i>f</i> <sup>&lt;G&gt;</sup> ; 15, 5 ? <sup>&lt;G&gt;</sup> ; 18, 9 <sup>G</sup>	For the locality see pp. 42 f. and Corr. to 10, 18 (Pl. 73(A)). The attribution to Suchus is hardly doubtful except in A 15, 5, where ‘son of Meryrē’ is added, possibly in order to differentiate.
„ (2)	Amūn, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, in the Backland	—	—	A 17, 2 (§ 30)	—	—	To N. of Zone I, but above the level of Aphroditopolis, see Syn. A § 30.
„ (3)	Amūn Mui-Khant	—	B 24, 16 (§ 48)	A 93, 20 (§ 253); 93, 23 (C § 253)<GL>	—	A 90, 26 <sup>GL</sup> ; 95, 16 <sup>GL</sup>	At Ṭihna, see p. 54, n. 1.
„ (4)	Ḥathōr, Lady of ʿAkhwey	—	B 22, 21 (§ 32)<G>	A 98, 24 (§ 264); 98, 26 (C § 264) <i>f</i>	—	—	At Es-Sirīriyah, see p. 53.
„ (5)	ʿAnti (in U-ʿAnti)	—	B 24, 8 (§ 45)<L>	—	—	—	For the locality in Zone IV see B 24, 9, compared with A 98, 28 (§ 265), where, however, the prophet is Wennofrē (2), see below.
„ (6)	Anubis of Ḥarsperu [= Ḥardai]	—	B 19, 18 (§ 22)	—	—	—	Ḥarsperu = Ḥardai (Crocodilopolis), see p. 51.
„ (7)	Temple of Raʿmesse-miamūn in P-tjesy-Ḥu	—	B 23, 14 (§ 37)	—	—	—	For the locality see pp. 177 f. and in the Additions and Corrections.
„ (8), 2nd pr.	Suchus (Sebk-Rēʿ) of Anasha	—	—	pA 81, 29 <i>r</i> <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup> (= 95, 4); pA 81, 43 <i>r</i> <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup> (= 95, 7); pA 91, 37 <i>r</i> <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup> (= 95, 10); A 95, 1 (§ 259); 95, 3.6.9.12 (C § 259)	—	—	For Anasha see Syn. A, § 254. The first prophet was probably Ptaḥmosē, see below.
Ḥuy (1)	Amūn, Lord of Return?	—	—	—	—	A 10, 4<GL>; 10, 11<GL>; 10, 13<GL>	God guessed from fields of A 10, 13 lying near this god’s chapel somewhere in Zone I.
„ (2)	Osiris Khant-ʿAru	—	B 24, 33 (§ 53)	—	—	—	For the god see A 19, 37; B 6, 4. Zone I.
„ (3)	Seth of Spermeru	pA 59, 20 <i>ḥf</i> (= 72, 27); A 72, 24 (C § 199) <sup>G&lt;L&gt;</sup>	pA 59, 19 <i>ḥ</i> <sup>G&lt;L&gt;</sup> (= 74, 24); pA 63, 38 <i>ḥ</i> <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> (= 74, 24); pA 63, 41 <i>ḥ</i> <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> (= 74, 21); pA 63, 46 <i>ḥ</i> <sup>&lt;GL&gt;</sup> (= 74, 14); A 74, 11 (§ 205) <sup>GL</sup> ; B 19, 28 (§ 23)	A 38, 40 (§ 92); 39, 1 (§ 93) <i>f</i> ; 55, 1 (§ 141) <i>sšm-ḥw</i> <sup>&lt;L&gt;</sup> ; 62, 38 (§ 163) <i>f</i> ?; pA 63, 44 <i>r. ḥf</i>	—	A 39, 3 <sup>G</sup>	In A 62, 38 the pronoun appears carelessly substituted for name and title of Ḥuy. In A § 141 the locality is indicated in 55, 2. Second prophet, see Nata below.
Ḳaḥa	Sunshade of Heracleopolis	—	B 25, 23 (§ 65)	—	—	—	Another prophet, see Neferkhaṯu below.
Kanūfe	Bata of Sakō	—	B 24, 11 (§ 46)<L>	A 38, 36 (§ 91); 99, 11 (C § 268); 99, 13.15.17.19.21 <i>f</i> ; 99, 22 (§ 269) <i>f</i>	A 77, 10<GL>	A 77, 51 <sup>G&lt;L&gt;</sup> ; 89, 15<GL>; 99, 24; 99, 25–6 <i>f</i>	Sakō = El-Ḳēs, Zone IV, see pp. 49 ff. Also in A 101, 15 (§ 276) in charge of the House of Queen Twertenro. In A 99, 11 the name is simply Kō.
Karo	Sunshade of the Keep of ʿOnayna	—	B 24, 14 (§ 47)	—	—	—	In Zone II, see Syn. A, under § 85.
Ḳenyamūn	Amūn Tjayef (Tjayna)	—	pA 64, 37 <i>ḥf</i> (= 74, 37); A 74, 34 (§ 207) <sup>L&lt;N&gt;</sup> ; B 23, 31 (§ 41) <sup>N&lt;L&gt;</sup>	—	—	—	In the <i>pōsh</i> -entry <i>f</i> must refer to the prophet, not named in §§ 170. 171. 207, and in the last described simply as ‘the prophet’.
Khaʿemtir, 2nd pr	—	—	—	—	A 82, 25<GL>	—	It is unknown in what temple he served.
Khaʿemwēse	Ptaḥ, the Great, South of His Wall	—	—	A 58, 2 (§ 146)	—	—	At Memphis.
Maḥu	Amūn of the Harbour	—	B 22, 16 (§ 31)<L>	—	—	—	For the probable location of the chapel see p. 164.